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ABSTRACT

The 33 papers presented at this conference are, as follows: "Child Participation in an Everyday Adult Practice" (Andrew Brent Andressen); "Education for Sustainable Development in Southern Philippines" (Caridad Bernardino); "Distance Education and Instructional Technologies: Cultural Transmission or Cultural Erosion" (Judith Blanchette); "Domestic Slavery into the Twenty First Century: Filipino Domestic Workers in Canada" (Susan Brigham); "Teachings from the Oral Tradition and the Digital Pedagogy of Bricolage: 'Off the Page, on the Page, and into the Screen'" (Duane Burton); "Unmasking the Obscured Familiar" (Donna M. Chovanec); "Cultural Change: Courtship Crisis" (Jendju Collins); "Supermodels in the Rainforest (A Teacher out of His Tree)" (Jean-Claude Couture); "Collective Kitchens: Making Poverty, Gender, Participation and Cooperation Unproblematic" (Nora Fernandez); "Identities In/Formation: Surfacing the Subjugated Knowledges of Queer Youth" (Gloria E. A. Filax); "A Sense of Place: Legitimizing Social Categories through Environmental Discourse" (Lorelei Hanson); "The Post Secondary Institution of the Future: A Virtual Reality" (Judy Harrower); "Personal Construct Psychology and Teacher Education: From Pedagogy Past to Teacher Beliefs in Practice" (Tim Hopper); "Valiant Girls: The Reconstruction of Femininity" (Barbara Heather); "School Education in the Former Soviet Union" (Victoria Hritonenko); "The Use of Erik Erikson's Life Stages Theory in Deaf Education" (Pat Hughes; Michael Rodda); "Race and Education: Waking Up to the Smell of the Coffee" (Jenny Kelly); "Internal Supply Policy" (Sheri Long); "Woman as Genre" (Rebecca Luce-Kapler); "Fostering a Global Conscience through Student Social Justice Activism" (Darren Lund); "Workplace Ergonomics - Importance of Education and Training" (Rammohan V. Maikala); "Can 'Gender' Survive in the Age of Queers?: De-Normalizing the 'Normal,' De-Polarizing Gender'" (Sheryl McInnes); "Situating East Asians in Canadian Race Discourse" (Hijin Park); "Local Control of Education in a Global Environment" (Larry Phillips); "The Dutch Experience with 'Charter Schools'" (Annette Richardson); "The Concept of Gradualness for a Sustainable Education" (Ahmad Sabetghadam); "'Are These the Muslined Pink Young Things to Whom We Vowed and Swore?': Addressing the Gendered Reader in the English Classroom" (Betty-Anne Schlender); "Political Science as Normalising Discourse" (Malinda S. Smith); "Teacher Education: Promoting Professional Identity" (Earl B. Stephanson); "Globalization: Friend or Foe?" (John Valentine); "Endangered Indigenous Languages" (Lynne Wiltse); "Communicative Language Teaching in China: An

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Analysis from a Cultural Perspective" (Ping Yang); and "Economic, Cultural, Political Significance of Market Women in Nigeria" (Adenike Yesufu). (BT)

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EDUCATING IN GLOBAL TIMES:
Race, Class, Gender
(and other processes of Normalization)

GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH CONFERENCE

University of Alberta

March 14 - 15, 1997

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Child Participation In An Everyday Adult Practice

Andrew Brent Andressen

Education has the potential to play an important role in restoring healthy connections between people and their world. Exciting possibilities in this area are open to educators who prove able to find ways to enrich abstract intellectual training through practical experience. Striking a balance between two types of learning, the abstract and the practical, would allow each facet of learning to inform the other. Such a balance would also help prevent one form of learning from disvaluing the other.

It is difficult for schools as we experience them in Alberta to find some means of allowing both teachers and students the intellectual space to explore their perspectives without the constant pressure of evaluation and correction that tends to be a growing part of accountability. In the same way that cartography is different from exploration, teachers need to plan the presentation of subject matter, but they also must be careful that planning is concerned with the process of learning and does not prescribe what is going to be produced. Everyone in the classroom must be able to do enough exploring to begin making their own social maps, rather than being directed exclusively by those produced by others.

However, schools are sites of conflicting demands and compromises. In a society that holds individualism as one of its dearest values, little else could be expected. Schools create the myth that people learn something in them that they would not otherwise know, yet despite this, students do not learn what schools propose to teach them (Becker, 1972). Material is presented in some order of increasing complexity to groups of students who are assumed to have the same needs and capabilities. Teacher-student relationships are problematic, as is the evaluation procedure established to reassure everyone involved that learning is indeed taking place. Schools are not conducive to learning, precisely because they have been established without consideration of the circumstances under which other ways of proceeding might be more efficient or more humane.

Educators must be open to the possibility of a more practical aspect to the instruction of young people. And it is this practical context that has the potential for students and educators to find the space necessary to express their reality and the time necessary to listen to the experiences of others.

A common criticism of schooling today is that graduates are increasingly unable to function in the world of work. Those who advocate learning in a practical context would suggest that part of the reason for this is that what impacts most powerfully on students is the ambient culture of school rather than explicit teaching, and this pervasive culture does not allow learning that is easily transferable to the world of real practitioners.

Mehan (1993) and McDermott (1993) have conducted studies that do attempt to shed light on the importance of social interaction in a school setting.

Mehan examines the ways in which everyday interaction in schools generates social relations. In turn, these relations result in some students being labeled as having learning disabilities. Certain social practices generate textual representations of children. These written documents in turn become divorced from social interaction and employ an absolute, unquestioned psychological language that proves overpowering to other ways of seeing students.

McDermott looks at how learning disabilities "acquire" students who might function effectively in everyday life, but come to the attention of teachers and testers who provide the social arrangements to degrade individuals who have differential rates of learning.

This research focused on the importance of social context in contributing to learning. It indicates that if children could enter contexts that would engage them in work alongside people of different cultures or those who are engaged in working towards social justice or environmental preservation, important learning might be possible.

The question that became the focus of this research had two parts. The first involved the idea of legitimate peripheral participation as developed by Lave and Wenger (1991). Could the involvement of children in an authentic adult practice outside of school lead to a change in social identity and learning on the part of those children? A secondary focus was to explore the nature of children's authentic participation in adult activity, and to ask what factors might contribute to a change in identity were it to arise from such participation.

For the purposes of situated learning and this study, legitimate peripheral participation had to take place in both an activity that adults regularly did, and in a proper "playground"; one that was the same as the one that adults "play" in during their everyday activity.

Furthermore, by their very presence, children who are peripheral participants become a part of the activities being conducted by the adults at the centre. Children who play along with adult activity cannot help but be changed by the experience and come to a new understanding both of the activity and of their ability to participate in it.

The intent of this study was to obtain a rich and comprehensive understanding of the means by which novices in a domestic craft activity came to see themselves as increasingly capable practitioners of that craft. The study was based on an interpretive research design utilising a qualitative methodology and naturalistic enquiry. It was exploratory in that there was little information available regarding the ways in which experts in a domestic craft pass on knowledge and understanding to novices outside of formal apprenticeship programs and vocational education.

The meanings held by the participants were seen as central to this study. Thus the research was designed to search for understanding rather than forming conclusions or generalisations about the nature of novice/expert interaction in an informal craft setting.

The selection of a setting for legitimate peripheral participation must be done carefully. Learners must be legitimate peripheral participants in ongoing practice in order for learning identities to be engaged and develop into full participation. Conditions that place newcomers in deeply adversarial relations with masters, bosses, or managers, in exhausting overinvolvement in work, or in involuntary servitude rather than participation distort, partially or completely, the prospects for learning in practice.

With this in mind, I began a long process of locating a suitable setting for this study. The search for a suitable expert provided new insights into the way many adults view the place of children in our society, and into the difficulties of establishing legitimate peripheral participation of children in situations of everyday adult practice.

I explored the possibility of involving both children and their parents in some shared activity. This step might address at once the various concerns about novice safety, discipline of participants, propriety of the activity, transportation of participants, costs of the activity, and loss of classroom instruction that had been raised at one time or another in my search for a setting. I eventually made contact with a member of the local environmental action group who baked regularly for her family and was willing to allow me to observe her interaction with her children and their friends as they worked on baking projects. As the participants gathered and began to work together in the setting, changes in understanding and ability did happen. The participants could see more clearly how much they understood when they looked around themselves at the relative abilities of other participants. They focused on serious production of a product each week, and in doing so were guided by an expert. They shared the work in order to more easily reach their common goal, and they received physical coaching at times when they were attempting to master a relatively new skill. Texts were an ongoing source of guidance, and mistakes that were made were taken in stride and did not stop the project or even adversely affect the outcome. Eating during the projects, and after the baking was completed became a way to celebrate the success of the day's work. Also, surrounding and infusing the activity was conversation, story telling and a sense of fun that helped make the experiences so engaging.

A review of recent and relevant literature revealed that very little has been written about how children learn through participation in social practice. Studies of various types of apprenticeship, where novices gradually move into greater participation at the centre of a craft or trade, dealt mostly with adults or youth in their late adolescence. Otherwise, literature dealing with learning is mainly concerned with pedagogy and psychology. It was the intent of this study to add to this literature from the point of view that practical experience alongside adults as they engage in their normal activities would lead children to new understandings of themselves, the adults, and the nature of the task at hand.

By examining a situation where children were involved in daily activity with an adult, I found it possible to gain insight into the power that such participation has to inform the understandings of all involved. My observations and discussions with the participants in this study also indicated that adult-child co-participation in everyday practice might provide a means of keeping youth in touch with their traditions and the natural world around them, and give those involved a greater understanding of people from different racial, cultural and economic backgrounds whether in the classroom or in the broader community.

This study also signals several ways in which understanding education as legitimate peripheral participation in a community of practice is important in promoting critical consciousness.

First, focusing on such a community enables us to see how people of varied abilities and backgrounds can act together to analyse and transform their reality, rather than simply understand or cope with it. Joint action, action which potentially includes all of the members of a community of practice rather than action in which some teach and others learn, is potentially more empowering when directed at finding solutions to social or environmental problems than expecting students to act alone once they come to understand that problems exist.

Second, legitimate peripheral participation not only enables communities to draw closer to the centre those who stand at the margins, but also enables these communities to see the "peripheral" position as important and valuable to the community rather than just as a "site of learning" for the individual who fills it.

Third, placing emphasis on the knowledge embodied by the group, rather than that held by those in authority, serves as a means of countering the culture of silence. In approaching any shared problem-in-action, the input of each member is of value to the solutions proposed by the group.

Finally, redefining teacher as learner in a practical context can bring student and teacher closer together. The teacher is no longer merely someone who teaches, but becomes one who is taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn also teach while being taught.

There is room for the understanding of legitimate peripheral participation to find some application in schooling. It opens the possibility of meeting the concerns and needs of several groups currently silenced and disempowered in today's schools.

Children who engage in a practical, everyday activity with adult members of the community, have the opportunity to understand the adult world and its values in a way not possible when learning is closely proscribed by curriculum and timetables in a school, and where children are overwhelmingly surrounded by their peers.

Adults have the chance to share skills and attitudes with children who would ordinarily not be a part of their daily practice. They too could come to new understandings; understandings of the nature of young people, their interests, and talents, and of education in our society, in a way not possible when these children are removed to secure, remote and largely impenetrable schools.

Both groups, due to a low expert-student ratio, could have the time and freedom to speak; to ask questions, tell stories, and build relationships with the potential to generate both knowledge and the beginning of important reciprocal understandings that could lead to significant social change.

It is my hope that an increased understanding of legitimate peripheral participation in communities of practice provides those of us involved in education with a means of moving forward, together, towards a more humane vision of schooling and a more just future.

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EDUCATION FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES

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Introduction

As the world marches on to the next millenium, humanity finds itself confronted with a war of unprecedented magnitude that surprisingly no longer reverberates with the polarities of old but rather urgently calls for a strong and united stand of all nations if they are to emerge triumphant over the forces that paradoxically, grew out of their own activities and creation. While the thawing of the Cold War has led the grand drumbeater of the capitalist sphere to suggest that the "end of history" has come, it certainly paved the way for a sidelined battle to position itself with more visibility viz-a-viz the political and economic hype that has always enjoyed the international spotlight. In recent years, the new battlecry to save planet Earth has grown with increasing resonance as the realities of environmental pillage lash their horrifying impact unabatedly in various corners of the globe sometimes with a vengeance that leaves living organisms staggering and reeling in their wake. Integrally linked with these ecological disasters are the exponential increase in the number of people enmeshed in poverty and the growing scarcity of natural resorces. The survival of the planet is therefore, at stake and upon it depends the life of its human and non-human inhabitants (WCED, 1987; Timberlake, 1987; Brown, 1991 1992; Brown, Flavin & Postel, 1993; MacNeil, Winsemius & Yakushigi, 1991; Lean & Henrichsen, 1992; Shabecoff, 1996).

Significantly, over the past few decades, concerns over the state of degradation of our global environment have been vigorously articulated by environmentalists, non-governmental organizations, people's organizations, some government and private agencies and concerned citizens. The impact of major environmental problems such as pollution, deforestation, global warming, desertification, natural resource depletion and population pressures has become so intense that the realities can no longer be ignored. The environmental advocates contend that time is of the essence and humankind has to deal immediately with this dilemma since putting it off could mean irreversible damage to the planet and could jeopardize the future of incoming generations or even the survival of all life forms (WCED, 1987; Brown, 1991, 1992: Brown, Flavin & Postel, 1993; Sale, 1993; Shabecoff, 1996).

In the light of these concerns, the issues have evolved to encompass their links with the process of development. It has become increasingly clear that environmental problems are not only rooted in poverty but are likewise, brought about by industrialization as the Founex Report pointed out during the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm in 1972. The alliance between environment and development gave birth to the term "sustainable development" which refers essentially to a "pattern of development that is not harmful to the environment" (Williams, 1993:18).

The report of the World Conference on Environment and Development or the Brundtland Commission, "Our Common Future" (1987) gave greater impetus to the integration of environmental concerns and development goals on the broader concept of sustainable development. It has defined sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs"(p.43). While this definition has been widely accepted since then, it nevertheless, generated the challenge of several critics over its ambiguities and contradictions (Redclift, 1993; Fien & Trainer, 1993; Norgaard; 1994; Baldwin, 1995).

As the ecological crisis is a reality of serious contingency, the need for a program of action to save the planet has been strongly acknowledged by leaders from both North and South countries during the Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. This historic gathering of world leaders, environmentalists and NGOs resulted in the adoption of Agenda 21, the blueprint for global actions for the transition towards sustainability (Quarrie, 1992).

The concept of sustainable development has deep implications to the lop-sided relationship that exists between the North and the South. It reveals the underlying power structure that has brought about the exploitation of resources, unsustainable modernization strategies and a host of economic assumptions and transnational practices that have tended to undermine indigenous knowledge, traditions and culture. The North-South development dilemma poses a very serious challenge to the pursuit of global sustainability.

Sustainable development therefore, calls for a redefinition of our relationship with our environment and a reconceptualization of the process of development. It demands a transformation in people's perspectives, values and lifestyles in order to bring about the promotion of environmental care and the enhancement of sustainable living. Countries therefore, need to reformulate their development policies and implement ecological, economic and social reforms in order to achieve sustainability.

As described in Agenda 21, the promotion of education, public awareness and training is vital to the attainment of sustainable development. Both formal and nonformal systems are recognized as effective means to bring about transformation in people's attitudes and values as well as the capacity to assess and address environmental issues and concerns. Education also helps bring about environmental and ethical awareness as well as skills and behavior consistent with sustainable development. It is therefore, an important process in the transition towards sustainability.

The Philippine Context

The Philippines is one of the South countries in Asia which is confronted by a deep environmental crisis. Composed of many islands along the Pacific, the country, although endowed with abundant and rich natural resources such as extensive forests and diverse coral reefs, has been suffering from the effects of its plundered environment over the past decades. This situation has stemmed mainly from the pursuit by successive governments of the goals of industrialization. Due to the activities of loggers, miners, ranchers, commercial agriculturists, wide forest areas have been greatly devastated (Wallace, 1993; Guiang, 1993). From 1969 to 1988, the rate of forest depletion is between 100,000 to 210,000 hectares per year. Forest denudation also brings forth other environmental problems such as the loss of biodiversity, soil erosion and siltation (Kalaw, Jordan & Torres, 1991). Compounding the situation is the threat to the cultural survival of people displaced from their ancestral lands often, to give way to "development" projects (Stiles,1991; Alianza, 1991; Soriano, Claudio & Fabsler, 1995).

The country's coastal and marine resources have been adversely affected by destructive fishing methods like *muro-ami* and the use of dynamite and cyanide. Fifty major river systems have been polluted and this has adversely affected fish production. Even its beautiful and diverse coral reefs have been badly shattered with only about 6% having 75% coral cover reported to be in excellent condition (Kalaw, Jordan & Torres, 1991). Likewise, with the destruction of mangroves as a result of the construction of fishponds, at present, only 56,000 hectares represent the total area of mangrove growth (Mincher, 1991) The controversial fish kill which saw tons and tons of fish floating in the Manila Bay area clearly demonstrates how alarming the situation has become (Herrera, 1996).

Pollution, as a result of mining operations has also become a serious problem. Marcopper Mining Corporation has allegedly caused the severe pollution of two river systems in Marinduque province (PDI, Aug. 15, 1996; Oct. 18, 1996) while the gold processing plants in Tagum, Davao del Norte have been allegedly responsible for the mercury poisoning of school children in the area (PDI, Oct. 5, 1996; Oct. 12, 1996).

While the environmental scenario has been bleak, the significant contributions of several NGOs and committed environmentalists can not be overlooked. A celebrated case involved the cancellation of the construction of a P16 billion cement plant project in

Bolinao, Pangasinan as a result of the collective effort of the community, NGOs and the media (PDI, Aug. 10, 1996).

Interestingly, as early as 1977, policies have been formulated in relation to the environment. PD 1151 created the Philippine Environmental Policy which called for the creation of conditions for humanity and nature to live in harmony and the attainment of a better quality of life and the promotion of the people's well-being. Sec. 16, Art. 11 of the Constitution provides for the right of the people to a balanced and healthful ecology. Furthermore, as an ASEAN member, the Philippines is a signatory to the Manila Declaration of 1987 which is a declaration of commitment to sustainable development. Enviromental agencies like the Department of Environment and Natural Resources have likewise been created to oversee the conservation, management, development and proper use of the country's environment and natural resources (Quizon, Ravanera & Ingles, 1991). In response to the global environmental challenge, the Philippine Council on Sustainable Development developed the framework for Philippine Agenda 21 which contains ecological principles to guide the various sectors in the process of development (PCSD, 1996).

Education for sustainable development may be regarded as a new concept in the Philippines but the development of environmental consciousness through the schools could be traced to the late 60's and early 70's. In 1974, the Workshop on Education and Training Needs for Philippine Environmental Programs recommended that Environmental Education be taught at all levels in both public and private sectors. Later, with the creation of environmental agencies, schools particularly the University of the Philippines in Diliman and the Institute of Environmental Management (IESAM) in UP Los Banos, Miriam College and the Philippine Women's University began to offer programs in environmental planning and management in the undergraduate and graduate levels. In 1989, a National Strategy on Environmental Education was formulated by a multisectoral body and the Environmental Management Bureau. This led to the development of a more comprehensive environmental program for the bureau. In June 1988, several educational institutions and NGOs jointly formed the Environmental Education Network of the Philippines which aimed to coordinate environmental and educational researches and initiatives and link them with regional and global environmental programs (Hart, 1991 EMB &EDPITAF, 1992; Kalaw, Jordan & Torres, 1991; Soriano, Claudio & Fansler, 1996).

Curiously, the Philippines which has been lagging economically behind its Asian neighbors posted a dramatic turnaround in terms of economic growth in the second quarter of 1996 (PDI, Sept. 1, 1996). Envisioning NIChood by the year 2000, the national leadership has officially adopted the Medium Term Philippine Development Plan (MTPDP) for 1993-1998 which seeks to increase per capita income to at least $1000, the growth rate to 10% and to reduce the incidence of poverty from 50% to 30% (Llorito, 1994; Salgado, 1995). To accelerate its implementation, a fast-track strategy was initiated through the establishment of regional industrial centers or growth corridors (Daing, 1994; Quitoriano, 1995). The effectiveness of this development strategy however, has been challenged by non-governmental organizations(NGOs) and People's Organizations (POs) as producing enclaves that drain the peripheries of raw materials and labor and does not actually bring the benefits of development to the poor (De la Rosa, 1996). Furthermore, it has been argued that following the NIC model of development might bring about adverse effects on the environment as evidenced by the Taiwan experience (Bello, 1993). With his signing of Philippine Agenda 21 however, the President allayed such fears by declaring that the Philippines will be a "green tiger" (Mindanao Cross, Oct. 5,1996). Moreover, the successful hosting of the 1996 APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) Summit has led Philippine officialdom to be more than convinced that the Philippines is well on its course towards Philippines 2000.

These developments however generate challenges on the aspect of education for sustainable development given the state of deterioration of the Philippine environment and the development thrusts the government is pursuing. While a few significant steps have been made towards the goal of sustainability, the need to develop an ecologically enlightened and responsible citizenry through education is of paramaount import in order to successfully effect the transition. A critical analysis of the theory and practice of education for sustainable development is therefore a necessary step to draw valuable data that could serve as a basis in the formulation of sustainable development policies.

The Study

The role of education in caring for the earth is clearly crucial in raising critical awareness of the issues and in catalyzing action towads sustainable development. This study seeks to explore the understanding of Filipino college teachers of the theory and practice of education for sustainable development by documenting and critically analyzing their experiences and insights in this area. Likewise, it seeks to examine the goals, programs, themes, activities, researches and curricular materials of the participating institutions in relation to education for sustainable development.

The Mindanao region which is located in the southern part of the Philippines has been chosen as the research locale being a primary area in the national government's development agenda. For many decades, Mindanao has served as one of the richest resource bases for the modernization and growth of the Philippines. In the process, the natural environment has been severely degraded. Several NGOs have been working in the Mindanao region to try and preserve the environment by challenging ecologically destructive policies and activities. Furthermore, Mindanao is a very culturally diverse region with multiple ethno-cultural communities including Muslims, Christians and *Lumads* or indigenous tribes. Sustainable development issues and problems have affected the various communities in different ways which brings in the interesting dimension of intercultural relations into the study.

Two higher education institutions served as research sites: Notre Dame University (NDU), a private Catholic institution and Cotabato City State Polytechnic College (CCSPC) which is part of the state system. Notre Dame University is known for its leadership role in the peace and development process in Mindanao through its Peace Education Centre and the efforts of its president, Fr. Eliseo Mercado, Jr.,OMI towards the formation of the Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD) the region's centerpiece for peace and development. Cotabato City State Polytechnic College, on the other hand, has provided professional and advanced academic, technical and vocational training in such fields as agriculture, forestry and industrial technologies in the area over the years.

A blend of qualitative and action research strategies was employed in collecting data for the study. Covering a period of five months, the data-collecting process involved conducting a survey, engaging in a series of conversations with research participants and interviewing administrators, student and community leaders, representatives from NGOs. the church and the media and officials from various government agencies involved in sustainable development. Participant observation and analysis of documents and textual materials such as the Vision-Mission Statements, course syllabi, and other resource materials were also employed.

From the data gathered through the survey questionnaire, several research participants were identified. A group of seven teachers from NDU and six teachers from CCSPC representing various disciplines served as the main research participants in the study. The conversations and interviews were audiotaped and transcribed for data analysis while the observations were recorded in a journal.

The survey revealed that majority of the respondents, 88% from NDU and 83% from CCSPC have attended courses, seminars, workshops and training related to education for sustainable development such as Peace Education, Environmental Education and Development Educatin. Sixty-four percent of the respondents from NDU and sixty-nine percent from CCSPC indicated that they have taught education for sustainable development by integrating it in their subject areas. Most of the teachers have been involved in activities related to sustainable development ranging from tree planting to environmental awareness campaigns in various capacities as team leader, coordinator or member. They also indicated that the most serious environmental problems in their area include garbage, forest denudation and pollution. It is significant to note that the problems were ranked similarly by the respondents from both institutions. Sixty-four percent of the respondents from NDU and seventy-four percent from CCSPC indicated their willingness to participate in a research on education for sustainable development. The results of the survey tend to show that both institutions have made some significant steps towards the possible development of a program of education for sustainability.

From the data gathered through conversations and interviews, several themes and issues have been identified. These include sustainable development as the wise use of resources, meeting the needs of the present and future generations, the responsibility of every citizen, the interrelationship between humanity and nature, etc. Issues like poverty, social justice, human rights, cultural solidarity, the effects of foreign investments, and Philippines 2000 among others were underscored. It is significant to note that the teachers viewed and discussed sustainable development and education for sustainable development through the perspectives of their own disciplines.

A critical analysis of the data gathered from the conversations and interviews and of the documents and other textual materials as well as of the recorded observations is expected to draw insights on teachers' concepts of the theory and practice of education for sustainable development. From the findings, implications for policy-making by government agencies and institutions will be drawn.

It is hoped that the findings will generate information that will contribute to the pool of knowledge on education for sustainable development in South countries in terms of theorizing, curriculum development and the improvement of pedagogy. Likewise, it is hoped that the findings will prove valuable to Canadian international development agencies and institutions.

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20

Distance Education and Instructional Technologies: Cultural Transmission or Cultural Erosion

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Introduction

Those of us who live and work in industrialized countries often take for granted the availability of technical resources. We routinely utilize a variety of communications media and have access to audio and videotapes (and the equipment necessary for production or playback), radios, televisions and computers. We use telephones, fax machines, send e-mail and access international databases without giving any thought to the telecommunications infrastructures that make it possible. As technology-based delivery methods are increasingly being used for distance education, however, it is important that we become conscious of the role these technologies play in transmission of culture and their impact on the lives of our students.

Definitions

First of all, it is important to define what is meant by 'technology'. Technology is applied science. Although the principles of science are universal it does not follow that the results of the systematic application of science and other fields of knowledge are also universal. Technology is "closely and inescapably related to the cultural context in which it is used" (Casas-Armengol and Stojanovich, 1990). This differentiation can help to explain the difficulties that are encountered when an attempt is made to transfer technology developed in one culture to different cultures.

Because so many of the current technologies are used for multiple - often conflicting - purposes, it is also important to distinguish between the terms educational and educative. Educational materials are those designed with an explicit instructional purpose, while educative materials are those meant to stimulate and inform without necessarily demanding serious study (Burton, 1992). This distinction is especially important when considering mass communication technologies such as newspapers, magazines, radio and television which are used not only to educate, but also to entertain and even to indoctrinate.

In its simplest sense, distance education can be defined as an educational transaction where the instructor is removed in time and place from the student. The transaction may be conducted in writing (and print is still the most widely used technology in distance delivery), as well as through the use of increasingly sophisticated technologies. The delivery of materials by whatever means, however, cannot be equated with learning. Learning is an interpretive process that is influenced by both prior learning and experience. As such, the culture of the learner has a major impact on how they interpret the educational materials with which they come into contact. This interpretation through the lens of culture leads to the development of knowledge. Because knowledge is constructed by the learner — not merely received — the end product of education is not predictable when materials or a program are used outside of the culture in which they were developed.

Demographics

In the interest of expediency, and in an effort to reduce costs, many nations or communities adopt existing models and strategies from other cultures, but when they attempt to apply these established programs they find it difficult to adapt them to meet the needs of a different culture (Daniel, 1990). Some institutions attempt to provide a range of courses or programs which they perceive to be relatively culture-free. Their reasoning is that subjects such as mathematics or science (or, by extension, business) are not bound by culture. In a sense, this is true, particularly at the most advanced levels, but while physics, for example, may transcend culture, the context in which it is presented is still highly dependent on the culture of the individuals who develop the material (Cobern, 1993).

There are many to whom the introduction and/or use of technology is merely an additional method by which the some nations subjugate the others. A brief survey of demographic material tends to confirm the claims of further cultural dominance in the guise of development assistance.

Although 78% of the world's population can be found in the less-industrialized countries, those same countries account for only 12% of the world's telephones, 5% of the scientific and technical publications and 3% of the research and development expenditure. Asia and Africa account for only 5.4% of all computers and related hardware (Gonzalez-Manet, cited in Burton, 1992). In addition, 86% of telecommunications equipment is located and manufactured in industrialized countries, and 60% of all databases are located in the USA (Burton, 1992).

Content and Context

The degree to which content is influenced by cultural assumptions may vary, but such influence is always present. Usually, courses are simply exported without modification, but on occasion, they may be developed for a particular group of learners in a specific country. It *is* difficult for foreigners to become completely familiar with the economic, social and political factors that influence how learners will perceive and interpret the course materials but in fact, this aspect is the easiest to control. Some developers are also very conscious of the ways cultural bias can sneak in to materials. These people or groups will be very attentive to such subtleties as the presence of literary or religious allusions that are associated with a specific cultures. Even with conscious effort, however, cultural assumptions can be very difficult to identify. The most basic assumptions — such as attitudes towards independence — are so deeply ingrained within us that they may go largely unquestioned (Guy, 1990). This is particularly evident in the realm of technology.

Educational technologies tend to be somewhat one-dimensional. While all educational technologies amplify certain values held by a culture, they simultaneously omit other cultural values. It is not possible to represent everything at one time. Even more crucial, according to Bowers (1988) is that educational technologies, especially computer technologies, "amplify the view of individuals as autonomous decision makers" and ignore the problem of how to represent "the tacit, contextual and metaphorical dimensions of cultural experience" and "the cultural foundations of a person's tacit knowledge" (p. 36). Winograd and Flores (1986, cited in Bowers, 1988) refer to this phenomenon at the Cartesian view of knowledge. This ultimately results in a shift to a more "technicist, political" worldview.

Other fundamental cultural characteristics may go unrecognized in applying distance education technologies. For example, what are the acceptable means of transmitting knowledge and values? In some cultures, a high value is placed on the printed word, and individuals are trained to look to books for important information. In others, however, the really important knowledge is held by individuals who fill the role of a knowledge repository for the group. There may be age, gender, and ritual restrictions on who is permitted access to this knowledge. It may be shared only in certain settings or it may be formally structured Part of this structure may depend on visual cues that accompany the words. While it is difficult to compensate for the loss of these visual cues, it may be possible to incorporate some method to indicate the relative significance of material. That assumes, of course, that the person or people preparing the material are aware of these cues. Additionally, imposing a norm whereby an emphasis is placed on individual judgement might have a significant impact the groups cohesiveness and self image (Bowers, 1988).

Cultural dominance is also evident in the language of technology—English—that has become the language most often used in global telecommunications, science, and computing technology as well as in the international media. There are currently more non-native speakers of English than there are native speakers. DeStefano (1989) estimates that there are about 300 million native speakers of English compared with about 1.5 billion non-native speakers. English language teaching materials are often produced for use in one country and exported to other countries. Computer and other technical manuals are produced almost exclusively in English. Trans-national foundations and corporations have played a major role in establishing English as an 'international' language both through educational aid and industry. It is more than likely that this constant exposure to materials produced in a language that is not the native language will have a significant impact on local knowledge and ways of looking at the world and solving problems (Griffin, cited in Guy, 1991).

Mass Media

Just as countries differ greatly in the degree of sophistication of available communications technology, they also differ in the ways in which they employ mass media —especially broadcast media—for a conscious educational purpose. For the most part, newspapers, magazines, radio and television could at best be considered more educative than educational. Waniewicz and Oeller (cited in Lowe, 1982) believe that television and radio, can be just as, or even more, effective than conventional instruction if used in combination with other styles of teaching and learning. This effectiveness is more evident in some fields of application than in others. At the same time, they make it possible to reach a greater number of learners at less cost. Both radio and television have advantages in countries that lack extensive ground infrastructure (roads, school buildings) in rural and remote areas. Broadcast media also have the ability to ameliorate problems resulting from severe shortages of trained teachers.

Brazil began to use radio for educational purposes more than 30 years ago and then branched into television in an attempt to combat the shortage of trained teachers and the lack of public school facilities. Brazil now produces extensive radio and television educational programming encompassing literacy and basic education, culture and vocational training. In contrast, Kenya relies primarily on radio to serve a similarly dispersed population. The rationale for using radio was cultural rather than economic. Radio is seen to more closely represent the African oral tradition (Jiaying Zhuang, 1990). In neither of these cases have broadcast media been used exclusively. They are supported by area facilitators and print material.

These delivery modes cannot be used in isolation. Their potential advantages are wasted if they are not integrated into existing patterns of communication at the local level. For example, it would appear that educational broadcast media tend to benefit urban over rural learners (Young, et al, 1980). The target audience of the mass media is often the urban, literate minority rather than the rural, illiterate majority. This is evident in the subject matter addressed, and, if the subject matter should be relevant to rural areas - agriculture or health for example - the codes used in transmitting the message are those used and understood by the urban upper-middle classes. It is important to note that the successful introduction of broadcast media into classrooms depends on more than technology. The support and input of local communities, tutors, and students is essential. The failure of the educational broadcasting that was imposed on Western Samoa can be contrasted with the success achieved in Mauritius and Nicaragua where efforts were made to ensure that there was community ownership (Young et al, 1980).

Success and failure are, of course, relative terms. While the initial introduction of educational television in Western Samoa has been described by most observers as a failure, and this eventually led to a reconception and restructuring that is more attentive to the needs of the community, not all agree that it was, in fact, a failure. In 1972, Robert Dahl, the project manager for the foundation that originally introduced educational television to Western Samoa stated that "... the Samoan system has been hailed as the most successful educational television system in the world" (Reiffers, 1982, p. 119). What would prompt him to make a statement in such direct contradiction of professional opinions? Since educational television was introduced, Samoans have undergone a considerable change in lifestyle. Imports have increased dramatically, reflecting changes in diet and the number of modern amenities purchased by islanders. The inhabitants of Samoa have become more receptive to policies emanating from the United States and to American interests. From an *educational* point of view broadcasting was a failure. From the point of view of those who want to transmit American culture, the program was very successful.

While the potential value of television and radio broadcast media as an instructional, educational and educative force is enormous, the present realization falls far short of what is desirable. There are exceptions, of course, but the proportion of broadcast time allocated to education programming is relatively meagre. Radio and television are almost exclusively used for commercial entertainment, although some countries designate a greater proportion of broadcast hours for educational, or at least educative, purposes. Because production costs are so high, commercial publications and broadcasting dominate not only in the countries in which they are produced but in many other countries as well. Audiences around the world are regularly exposed to many of the same commercial programs.

Communications Technology and Telecommunications

As a method of distance education delivery, teleconferencing has many advantages over traditional print delivery or even the use of broadcast media. The most obvious is that is provides learners with an opportunity to interact with the instructor and with each other. Teleconferencing includes satellite videoconferencing and computer conferencing. Telecommunication, including the telephone, is one of the basic infrastructures which can make a contribution to development (Burton, 1992), but there is a high capital cost associated with telecommunications infrastructure which makes its establishment difficult. Again, urban users are at an advantage over rural users.

Moore (1988) and others have also promoted the use of computer-based electronic mail as a major development in the advancement of international distance education. From a North American perspective they are correct. The reality, however, for distance education students and providers in other parts of the world—even in other technologically advanced countries—is a little different. Even if a student has access to a computer, gaining access to the Internet can be much more difficult. There are far fewer service providers, and educational institutions rarely provide access sites for their students as so frequently occurs in North America. While North Americans can up- and down-load files at no cost, those in other countries cannot. A fee is charged for every packet (a small quantity of digital information) that is transferred. Service providers, including educational institutions, in some countries are also required to pay fees for packets transferred to or from their database sites by North Americans (personal communication, December, 1995).

Another area of concern for many countries is that of Transborder Data Flow (TBDF). Transborder Data Flow is defined by Surprenant (1985 cited in Burton, 1992) as "the electronic transmission of data across political boundaries for processing and/or storage in computer files" (p. 60). The key issue is that of processing and storage in computer files. A telephone call which can also transmit data across such boundaries is not digitally encoded, while information sent by modem over telephone lines is. The issues surrounding TBDF are relatively new and largely unresolved. For example, while the many countries throughout the world see information as a social good and a cultural product, the U.S. sees the transmission of information as an economic issue and argues that such transmission falls under international trade laws. This position reflects the fact that a minority of nations, in particular the United States, hold a dominant position in the field of electronic data transmission. This position has not gone unchallenged. For example, Brazil exerts stringent control over the use of overseas databases and also closely monitors data and information exported from that country for processing abroad (Burton, 1992).

Conclusion

It is possible, for a number of reasons, to argue that all countries would benefit by developing their communications industries as quickly as possible. Relatively speaking, the capital costs of developing a sophisticated communications infrastructure have been greatly reduced as deregulation and competition in industrialized nations have driven prices down. The cost of maintenance has also decreased largely due to advancements in microelectronic circuitry which requires little servicing. Telecommunication development and/or enhancement is considered to be extremely cost effective and provides a high return on investment.

In spite of these arguments, there continues to be a rapidly growing gulf between the information capabilities of nations and communities within nations. Ideally, the introduction of technology should help to close the gap, socially, economically and politically. In reality, many countries are still highly dependent on others for technical support, and the cost of obtaining this support is not insignificant. Impoverished countries and communities cannot afford to supply enough minimally-qualified teachers, classrooms or textbooks let alone televisions and computers. Cost may be relatively lower than in the past, but the major beneficiaries are still those who produce the technology.

Some see the encroachment of technology as further undermining local cultures. Books, including textbooks and magazines, as well as radio and television programs are purchased by the majority of nations because it is so much less expensive than independent production. When it comes to the mass media, a very few countries have, economically speaking, an absolute advantage over most of the other countries in the world. It has become almost impossible to replace such materials with those produced locally. This flow of technology and the products of technology "represent a form of information imperialism which undermines cultures and social values in addition to economic independence and social development" (Burton, 1992, p. 62). Each community experiences the effects of this undermining action in a different way depending on its unique characteristics: it is because of these unique characteristics that it is not a constructive use of resources to search for the one right way to provide distance education to distinct communities. It is essential to implement educational programs that would more adequately meet the economic and educational needs of specific populations. The unfortunate focus on economies of scale and efficiency of delivery based on standardized models using standardized materials will lead, ultimately, to a standardization of knowledge. This is a very real concern for communities which value their social and cultural identities.

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Domestic Slavery Into The Twenty First Century: Filipino Domestic Workers In Canada.

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This paper discusses the integration of Filipino Immigrant women in Canada. It is based in part on ethnographic research I did for my Master's thesis. The interviews of Filipino caregivers in Edmonton were done in 1993 and '94. The conditions and circumstances of the domestic work program in Canada, the affect of globalization on Filipino domestic workers, the role of education and finally implications for feminist social actions are examined.

The theoretical framework I am drawing on is a Marxist perspective with elaborations that go beyond economic determinism. In this perspective, society is seen in terms of interactive, dynamic changing relationships.

The Canadian state has been reluctant to provide universal and affordable childcare to assist women seeking entry into the labour force. Employment equity legislation has been insufficient. Due to this lack of government commitment to suitable equitable labour conditions for women, many middle-class families in Canada endeavour to employ live-in caregivers as a desirable alternative to day-care centres and babysitters. As there are very few Canadians who are willing to fill the job of live-in caregiver, due to the low wage and the undesirable requirement of living in a family's home, the solution lies in bringing women from the South to meet the demand. For women of the South, this is seen as an opportunity for a better life. Nevertheless, the migration of women from developing countries to Canada is usually seen not as the filling of a demand but rather as a form of charity - a way of *allowing* women from developing countries into Canada and giving them the privilege of a job (Arat-Koc 1992). This attitude is reflected in the regulations governing the live-in caregivers programme and consequently the quality of life for the live-in caregiver both during, and if she obtains permanent resident status after the contract.

Domestic Workers (sometimes referred to as "live-in caregivers" "nannies" or "maids") in the live-in caregiver program (LCP) are all migrant workers and most are female. Today, over 70 percent of domestics or live-in caregivers are Filipino (Pierson & Cohen 1995). In fact, the Philippines has been dubbed the number one producer of domestic help (Philippines Free Press 1994). Even up to 1986, the word "Filipina" was defined as "domestic worker" in the Oxford Dictionary.

The LCP program cuts across boundaries of race, class and gender. These relations are ideologically and socially constructed. They are used to define members of societies and influence the way each of us participates in society. They are used to demarcate differences which result in the perpetuation of oppression and inequality based on the ideology of the superiority of one gender, race, class, ethnic or cultural group over another. Inequalities soon become normalized or what Gramsci calls, "common sense".

Historically, women of colour have been white women's menial household help. In this context the servant was subject to and controlled by the whims and suspicions of the white "lady of the house". Black and brown women have performed menial, dirty and dangerous tasks under the scrutiny of white women "superiors". Some white women, generally then and now hold a race and class advantage over women of colour framed within the context of the capitalist service economy. Historically and cross-culturally the pattern persists; it is the darker-skinned domestic serving the lighter-skinned mistress (Cohen 1988). The present live-in caregiver-employer relationship in Canada is a continuing enactment of the racially divided servant-mistress relationship of the past. The interaction between the "woman of the house" and the nanny incorporates a power structure. Even though the employer and employee are of the same gender, they are separated by race, class and citizenship.

It is ironic that Canadian women are being 'liberated' whilst at the same time oppressing other women. Macklin (1994: 34) puts it this way, "..one women is exercising class and citizenship privilege to buy her way out of sex oppression". However, even though white women may have power over some brown and black women household labourers, the ultimate power is still held by the white male in the patriarchal structure of society. Men in families which employ live-in caregivers are still free of housework and child care responsibilities. bell hooks states "white men supported changes in the white woman's social standing only if there exists another female group to assume that role. Consequently, the white patriarch undergoes no radical change in his sexist assumption that woman is inherently inferior. He neither relinquishes his dominant position nor alters the patriarchal structure" (hooks 1981: 155).

The live-in requirement of the domestic worker programme is unique to all other work situations. Few employees could imagine living with their employers where they have limited privacy, and where they are always accessible to the needs of their employers. Live-in caregivers are required to live and work (caring for children, the elderly or the disabled) in private homes for at least two years under a temporary employment authorization. After two years they may apply for permanent resident status but to be considered, they must demonstrate their ability to adapt to Canadian living, prove financial responsibility as well as show an aptitude for learning.

The participants in my study stated that their tribulations as live-in caregivers were due to the rules and regulations of the caregiver contract. Many explained how the live-in requirement affected them in various ways, from inconveniences such as lack of food choice and loss of privacy (in most cases the live-in caregiver's room was accessible by everyone living in the house), to serious situations such as isolation and hunger. Live-in caregivers are denied basic freedoms of other workers: the right to choose and change occupations, to change employers, to have one's own place to live, and to enjoy a personal life outside work.

The Canada Employment Centre Kit (Canada 1988) states that "[t]he employer must be reasonable regarding the hours of work per day and certainly one or two days off per week should be allowed". However, in one participant's situation she was far from the city and had no access to public transportation so it was difficult to get away from her employer's residence. This problem was compounded by the spacing of the days she was given off which were Fridays and Mondays, not Saturdays and Sundays.

One would assume that when she is sick, the care-giver would receive time off from work. The reality is such that even when sick the women felt obliged to work because they were being paid and they did not want to let their employers down since they were relied on so heavily. A "fringe benefit" (Canada 1981: 63) of the live-in caregiver's job in Alberta is the payment of half the premiums for health insurance by the employer and reimbursement of return portion of prescription costs. Participants stated that this is not enforced. A participant tells of her employer's failure to pay her Alberta health insurance, her lack of access to medical treatment due to her isolated position and of her feeling responsible for finding someone else to fill her place until her health improved. "Beth" explained that her friend, a live-in caregiver working in Slave Lake came to help her work when she began to get ill. After a short time however the friend was sent away by the employer. The employer told anyone who called for Beth that she had left her employment. Beth stayed in her basement room for many days and was given only a bottle of water and some Tylenol. Finally her friend and her friend's employer (a doctor) got in through the basement window to take Beth out and give her free medical treatment.

In many Canadian provinces, domestics are not covered by minimum wage legislation. When they are, there is no ceiling placed on the amount an employer can deduct for room and board. In addition, domestics are not paid for time worked beyond the eight hour day. Domestics also are not covered by Workers Compensation, and the contracts domestics sign with their employers is rarely, if ever, enforced by government officials (McGowan, 1982:7).

In Alberta the live-in caregiver receives $975 gross a month, but with costs of room and board deducted, taxes, and contributions to Unemployment Insurance, Health care insurance and Canada pension their net salary is usually $540 per month. Of this $540 they must pay for accommodation on their days off, extra food if they do not like what the family eats or if they are not getting adequate food, personal affects, transportation to and from the employer's home on days off, educational expenses and a large portion is obliged to be sent home. Furthermore, some live-in caregivers are still paying off debts which they incurred whilst trying to get here. They may be paying huge fees to the Philippine government, recruitment agencies and/or for air travel.

The participants in my study of Live-in Caregivers in Edmonton stated that their motivation for coming to Canada to do this work was mainly economic, i.e. to put a brother through University or to support an extended family including in-laws, nieces and nephews. Additional reasons were, the hope of up-grading their education and to get permanent resident status so that they could eventually change their occupation. To gain a more complete understanding of the push - pull factors the Philippine background will be examined briefly.

The World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) projects have had a lasting impact on the Philippines and have resulted in unbearable burdens on the Filipino people, past and present; a non-sustainable economy, the emergence and maintenance of a military regime; a destruction of democratization and a demolition of human rights. As a recipient country, the Philippines must follow economic policies which include privatization of state enterprises, balancing government budgets, eliminating social programmes, devaluing local currency, eliminating 'interference' caused by trade unions and labour arbitration, ending subsidies, opening up to foreign investment and promoting exports. Transnational Corporations (TNCs) such as Dole and Del Monte are increasingly capital-intensive and are hiring fewer workers while increasing their land holdings. Peasant farmers, left landless, search for employment in the cities. With an increase of population to urban areas, labour power becomes cheaper and more scarce. Under heavy pressure to pay off their huge debt from both the IMF and the WB, the Philippines have increased their human export. The IMF encourages large numbers of women to leave the Philippines for employment in richer countries so that they can send money home to support the large debt. Women of various regional backgrounds, with varying levels of education and work experience, young and old leave the Philippines by the thousands every year to Japan to work in the sex industry for example or to Canada to work as live-in caregivers.

Education plays another important role in the push - pull factors. The Philippines has regularly produced many more degreed people than there are jobs for resulting in a credential inflation, a surplus of educated unemployed and underemployed people. Many of the unaccommodated graduates have sought jobs in foreign lands. Among these are the participants in my study. All stated that education was very important to them and to their families. All of the participants have education from secondary and tertiary educational institutions, they have English language skills (the main language of instruction in the Philippines is English), they are experienced and/or have formal training in their professions. A high level of education and training is a criteria by which all candidates are selected to come to Canada.

The participants stated that the opportunity to study was an important factor for them to come to Canada. They were anticipating that they would be able to study during their contracts. However, only a few were able to follow through with their hopes of continuing their education due to these reasons: their education qualifications from the Philippines are not recognised in Canada; they lack Canadian qualifications and Canadian experience; their motivation is limited; there is a lack of opportunities and a scarcity of jobs available; low self-esteem; financial responsibilities to family;

systemic discrimination; lack of connections; and a lack of money to pursue education for upgrading.

The live-in caregivers still on contract experience further barriers which include: their visa status does not allow them to study at an educational institution; lack of time off; times that courses are offered; lack of money; lack of energy after work; and transportation problems. Consequently, the participants suggested recommendations for changes in educational aspects: Educational institutions must be more flexible in the times which courses are offered and in their admission policies. Both educational institutions and professional associations must acknowledge and recognize the foreign education qualifications and experience of potential students from the Philippines and other countries. Caregivers should receive encouragement to up-grade their education. The monthly $20.00 education fee which employers must pay the caregiver does not allow for transportation or fee costs and it should be increased. Furthermore, educational institutions must make an effort to reach people such as live-in caregivers to understand their needs and provide information. Organisations should continue to expand their activities to educate others of the needs, special circumstances and cultural differences of the Filipino caregiver as well as other Filipino workers thereby facilitating understanding between Canadians and Filipinos.

My research highlights particular areas where other changes must be made. The attitudes behind the Live-In Caregiver Programme must be reassessed. The work that caregivers do is not considered a "real" occupation by Canadian immigration authorities, as it does not allow caregivers to come into Canada as Permanent Residents. The belief that Canada is doing caregivers a "favour" by allowing them to come and work here maintains the low status of the caregivers' work and results in many caregivers remaining in exploitive work situations. The low status of this occupation is related to the low wages and the poor working conditions. Improvements must be made in these areas so that this occupation is brought up to the standards of jobs which Canadians do.

There is no Live-in Caregivers' union. Existing organisations for caregivers do not take an active role in challenging the inequities and discrimination which caregivers face. These organisations must unify to ensure that the specifications in the contract are being met, their rights are maintained, and that the voices of the caregivers themselves are heard by policy makers at the federal and provincial levels.

Live-in Caregivers are provided little protection under provincial and territorial labour laws. They should be included under the Employment Standards Act, so that they will, at the very least, be guaranteed minimum wage, Workers' Compensation and either be eligible to receive Unemployment Insurance (IU) benefits, or not be required to pay into it.

This occupation, more than any other, demonstrates how women are divided along the lines of race, class and citizenship and how the Canadian state policy has engineered and reinforces this division. However, it should be noted that the inegalitarian laws of the Canadian state alone do not create unequal relations between employer and domestic worker. Even the family that promotes egalitarian relationships among its members do not necessarily carry that view over to include the live-in domestic worker.

Although being a good employer of live-in caregivers should not be the end goal it is a start. Even "good" employers are reproducing the hierarchy of inequality that exists in Canadian society. To understand the LCP in the global context we need to understand the debt crisis, recognize economic exploitation, acknowledge First World privilege and grasp the personal implications. Taking a feminist stance will only be fruitful if the struggle is to eradicate domination in all its forms. Feminist struggles have failed many people due to the reluctance to recognize that patriarchal domination shares an ideological foundation with racism, classism and other forms of oppression. hooks (1989) warns that to address only one form of oppression while the systems remain intact is defeatist. Admittedly, to ask a domestic worker to identify her oppression with that of her employer insults her lived experience (Macklin 1994:33) yet Miles (1996) suggests a dialogue with women of the "Third" and "First" worlds would reveal that patterns of relationships so taken for granted are actually unequal social constructions. She adds that we each need a deep understanding of one's condition as a woman and to break with patriarchal values and ideologies. For white middle class feminists this requires a disloyalty to the class and race they are attached to. Women, be they Filipino live-in caregivers or upper-class Canadian employers, can work to transform differences into more rational, power-conscious, and subversive steps toward positive social change.

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Teachings From The Oral Tradition And The Digital Pedagogy Of Bricolage:
Off The Page, On The Page, And Into The Screen

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There is, it seems to us
At best, only limited value
In the knowledge derived from experience
The knowledge imposes a pattern, and falsifies,
And every moment is a new and shocking
Valuation of all we have been.
T.S. Eliot, East Coker

Introduction

The massive changes the computer revolution has brought over such a short period of time both stretch and fray us. An ever moveable feast, the computer culture conjures up both digital and virtual realities. We now refer to Western culture's computer culture in exploring the major transformations currently taking place in self-understanding and self-identity.

In needing to reposition in relationship to nature and machine in a technologically driven culture, the Western worlds scientific communities latest focus is on the science of complexity and the principles of biologic. The enigma of human consciousness and the physics of Chaos and Anti-chaos course through these explorations of what is natural, supernatural, `cyber' natural and machine. Systems that have all properties of all states are now referred to as vivisystems and the boundaries between these states are "shape-shifting" for Western science. In response to the development of artificial intelligence - a "Turnings `Man'", we have the new metaphorical message of the computer that we are machines - thinking machines. The computer culture is experiencing its second major transformation and paradigm shift as we once again jump on the learning curve, this time from analog to digital communication. Will this different way of accessing information bring new ways of Being? A new meta narrative?

In Western culture we position ourselves in relationship to images that for the most part are ***made*** by our technological tools. This culture is driven by a need to understand the nature of mass communication. In contrast, the Traditional Orality based culture is driven by a need to understand the forces of nature and life. In Orality culture the positioning is in relationship to images that for the most part are ***born***. These two different cultures upon first 'reading' would not appear to have much in common. And yet a rather peculiar thing is happening to Western culture as its literacy becomes electric image based and digital. The Western world is being introduced to the key central core concept in Native Oral Tradition, albeit unacknowledged. This concept is liminality. Liminal states, the most common theme in Native Orality Tradition, literally mean being positioned on the threshold or more accurately, being on the cutting edge of and in, both states of real and virtual.

Bricolage

As information is both form and transmissible knowledge, knowledge can be thought of as a structure of relationships that exist between a person's experiences. Within these structures we make patterns of images and symbols, otherwise what we have defined as knowledge is lost. In her book **Life on the Screen: Identity in the Age of the Internet**, Sherry Turkle calls the new way we access digital information by computer "the triumph of tinkering" or "bricolage". The user 'tinkers' with what there is on hand to construct, deconstruct or reconstruct text. In taking in information one is adding to and reorganizing the structure of relationships between experiences and in effect creating a new structure in one's mind. The experience is personally and relativistically constructed and the intertextuality that results "rejects a [universal] ground floor reality".

Turkle associates bricolage with postmodernism. No one narrative has claim to being the only true reality. In accessing information in the form of virtual space we 'go' to, or 'live' in, many worlds of our own making. Here there is no standard, no blueprint, no geography and one is in a random selection process to intuit a single outcome from a range of probability. Somewhat ironically, this is familiar territory for the pre-modern Orality Tradition. Bricolage has a long and pre-postmodern history in Native Traditional Orality culture.

Coming from a Western literacy tradition Turkle is, like myself, not only Eurocentric but also 'literacy-centric' in that our mode of consciousness is literacy based. The literacy mode of consciousness deals with a heroic tradition, conflict resolution, individuation, bi-conscious reality, rhetorical laws and a need to compartmentalize to get at the central singular point. Culture teaches thinking in certain modes and I think it is important to acknowledge this. It is reasonable to ask what mode of consciousness develops as a result of being in a bricolage process over time? If the oral tradition uses bricolage as a way to access information this knowledge could illuminate and even enhance the discussion on self-understanding and self-identity.

Oral Tradition

Members of the Native Oral Tradition access information by navigating and negotiating interchangeable and parallel realities. The past is construed not simply as the past, nor is the future simply 'not yet', but in essence both come together and are integrated in the time present. Boundaries are negotiable and there are many navigational possibilities in multiple situations, characters and events in life, death, and life-death.

> *"The questions of identity and of the boundaries of consciousness and race permeate all First Nations texts, relating them securely both to the tribal tradition from which they spring, and to the larger American world in which they exist... fluidity of identity implies fluidity of every kind of boundary and while boundary crossing is fraught with dangers, Native narratives highlight the even greater danger of fixing those boundaries"*(Gunn Allen p.16).

Unlike the literacy mode of consciousness, the orality mode is not about cause and effect truths and consequences, nor does it have conflict or individualism as a defining characteristic. Neither time centered or necessarily setting centered, what tells the tale (a tale which never really ends) has more to do with a loose coherence of common understandings derived from ritual traditions (transforming boundary crossings) that members of a tribal unit share.

Space in the Native Oral Tradition holds all specific and non-specific events, characters and situations. "Muchness" is the way Gunn Allen describes this. All is here. Here everything is related and always present in every which way. Meaning is assumed to be total regardless of where one is in this "muchness". "We have the land, we don't have history" (Gunn Allen) and therefore the 'reality' of the terrain is open to a multiplicity of relationship possibilities, mythical or otherwise. The decentralized nature of this reality is in its texts which can come from anywhere in any form at any time. The idea of centrality comes from taking on the meaning of the whole. A central theme is "we are here now prepared for community" whatever that (with respect to identity and self) may require. In this way orality consciousness is engrammatic and accretive; it is always adding to the whole in the process it uses to make meanings.

Liminality is the 'heart-beat' of oral tradition. It is that state when one's Being is held in stasis - limited - just before one moves into the nature of a different reality. While in stasis, one is also in flux: neither either/or but 'and'. The liminal state holds the potential to go one way or another. When one does cross over a boundary it will stabilize. The concept of self development and identity looks at the capacity to first hold then integrate all these states at the same time.

Similar to the computer driven way of knowing, the orality mode of consciousness uses images, icons and symbols to take you where you 'feel' you need to go to reach an understanding, to tell you what you need to know. The images will 'speak' (both internally and externally) and you do not need words to know what to do next. The orality mode is tactile, multi-locational, multi-level, iconic and mosaic. The universe is animated and you are both grounded and participate in its interplay and transformation. In other words, the archetypes walk around. For me this has more of a familiar ring to it when one experiences induction into cyberspace than any Western literacy-based narrative.

Pedagogy

Computers reduce everything to presence or absence, there or not there. Like Buddhist philosophy, if the program is logical and you do the right computation of using yes and no at the right time eventually you get the truth. Computation is a philosophical debate in the form of logic. So what meanings are to be made when the computation turns into a process that becomes an event centered wandering structure with all always all there even when its not and 2 + 2 does not equal four; rather 2 + 2 = apples?

Both Western and non-Western systems do abstractions of course, but the orality tradition does accretion (adds to get to fundamental meaning) while the literacy tradition deconstructs (isolates, individuates, takes apart to get at fundamental meaning). Aboriginal languages are verb-based and reflect Being in a process of constant change, while European languages are noun-based and reflect an emphasis on the static: "The phonetic alphabet provides a technique for transmitting all of the senses into terms of just one sense which further isolates and intensifies by submitting those other senses" (Eric McLuhan). This literacy perspective and construction is analytical, continuous, linear and relies on the relationship between the eye and the consequent cognition of what the eye sees, leaving little room for interpretation. This is in contrast to a more indirect relationship, one that leaves room for imagination, interpretation and creation.

For the Western philosopher Heidegger, how we access information in a computer culture not only changes, but restricts what we have access to. He concludes this is a critical difference and it will change our Being. With variable multiple contexts you lose the source of context and in this way symbols are not grounded in a frame of reference to include others geography and history. We will have lost our ground - the metaphysics of presence - and our way in the world and we will come up empty, inauthentic. Flipping here and there, far and near into parallel realities, increasingly the imaginary materializes as the replicated and the simulated is captured as an image. This is a world "that constructs appearances which act as the reality of surrogates of a Real...not the metaphysics of presence but of perpetual absence" (RU Wetware).

The philosopher Bernstein refutes Heidegger positioning his argument on the horns of a dilemma. He proposes exercising practical wisdom as an alternative to Heidegger's either/or choice and leads us into a consideration of the actual experience of exercising practical wisdom. Does the phenomenology of the experience register at the level required? If we look at the computer as a tool it may be no more necessary for people to understand how a computer works in order to use it than it is to understand the mechanics of the car in order to drive. In truth, electric images are not perceived as less real, but as more real with a power to confer 'there-ness, extra-ness, real-ness'. This is unlike words which do not mimic what they signify while images do. Images do not depend on logic for their power so much as on the magic of mimicking the spoken word and so they appear to access the real as they re-present it.

> *"All told, the urge to produce and consume images has become so powerful and widespread that it threatens to outweigh language as the defining characteristic of our species"* (Hoyt: p.18).

In his book **War of the Worlds: Cyberspace and the High-Tech Assault on Reality** Mark Slouka warns that simulation is becoming so technologically sophisticated that we are losing touch with physical reality and confusing the 'real' with what is not real. He cautions us that history has become reduced to a "floating non-time" as the past disappears into the background, cyberspace avatars populate a "metaverse" and "landscape is a hallucination fed directly into our brain". He underscores Heidegger's fear of technology repositioning us such that we irretrievably lose our mutually nurturing relationship with nature and replace it with manipulation, utility and consumption.

> ***"Increasingly, the imaginary materializes as the replicated and the simulated is captured as an image. This is a world that constructs appearances which act as the reality of surrogates of a Real...not the metaphysics of presence but of perpetual absence"*** (RU Wetware)

In computer culture we are drawn into a world where displays are 'moving'. We call them 'breathing' and it feels like a 'living' thing. This sensation of movement actually comes from inside our heads; it is not moving, it is the spaces in between that flicker. Cyberspace is both absolute and relative simultaneously because the mathematic language underlying it is absolute, yet the sensation of space it creates is relative and subjective. Do you actually get to 'touch' breath and spirit in cyberspace? Does the answer to this matter so much as the health and wisdom of the process one is in? In **Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology**, Neil Postman writes:

> *"The computer is almost all process. There are, for example, no great 'computerers', as there are great writers, painters, or musicians. There are great programs and great programmers but their greatness lies in their ingenuity in simulating a human function or in creating new possibilities..."*(Postman, p.118).

Teachings

Turkle suggests a new ontology is being created by the way we access information in the computer culture. Or is it possible this "new" way of Being has been present all along in other, non-Western cultures? She believes that we are creating a new form of "selves". In creating multiple personae as we recycle the self through virtual worlds, we leave the "self" behind rather than bringing it into some form of emergent self/self-consciousness.

Turkle uses the metaphor of a cyclist disappearing into fragmented selves going through the cyberspace looking glass. Who was the cyclist in the first place? A trickster perhaps? The cyclist metaphor is also found in orality-based culture but as a web of multi-dimensional interacting cycles that affect one another. In this tradition the language is one of extension - nothing gets left behind. We begin where the former left off, not genetically of course, but rather in terms of what can be called accumulated knowledge. That is, we know of and have an attachment to a before and an after, and we feel we are 'now'. In this intertextuality one is not being anything in particular; that is, no particular identity. One is simply experiencing the "suchness" of Self in the "muchness". Evidence from orality-based tradition suggests there could be an emergent self.

Rather than the new ontology Turkle proposes I would suggest a new way of being-in-relationship to ourselves, each other, nature and reality is emerging as a possibility for the literacy-based Western world. What is being realized is that "Virtual communities require an act of imagination and what must be imagined is the idea of the community itself"(The Virtual Community by Howard Rheingold. Utne Reader March April '95p.64.). A virtualized being is not an extraordinary experience for those coming from an orality-based tradition nor would it require an act of imagination to manifest community; rather, it is a given.

Traditional Western philosophy separates the Parmemidian truth that "all is one" from the Heraclites truth that "all is flux". While the concept of liminality has been accommodating both categories of truths for quite some time now, Western culture can now also accommodate both categories of truth since the discovery of "the natural flux" in chaos/anti-chaos theory. The Native Orality Tradition has been dealing with this different way of knowing process for quite some time. Now it appears as though it is Western cultures turn.

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Unmasking The Obscured Familiar

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To Begin: A Narrative

Lately, I am often puzzled, bewildered, mystified. It is as if, as I walk along a familiar corridor, I slowly become conscious of sounds barely discernible in the supposedly empty space. I am shaken out of my previous oblivion, forced to deter my complacent ruminations. In response, I adjust my stride, I proceed more cautiously, more self-consciously, more attuned to my surroundings. All at once, my caution, my sense of self-preservation fail me as I am suddenly confronted in the corridor by another presence. Even though I was forewarned at the edge of consciousness, the confrontation nonetheless stuns me. For a moment, I am startled, breathless, reeling. And in the aftermath of the adrenaline flow, I am left unsure of myself, sapped of energy, scrambling to re-orient myself to a new moment, dislocated from my previous location, destination and orientation.

What is this metaphoric intruder into my trodden path? It is quite simply, Race. Mine! Until this sudden intrusion into my consciousness, race was a part of my subjectivity which was invisible to me. It did not require an explanation. It was completely taken-for-granted. This oblivion itself is an indicator of the privilege within which I can walk the corridor. The luxury, in a racist world, of the presumed absence *of race is accorded only to* my *particular race which has also the power to simultaneously construct that which is present, visible, different, Other.*

Thus, I have learned that I am raced. And so, I am forced to confront myself. I discover that the intruder in the corridor is merely a reflection of myself. No wonder I am bewildered, set aback for it is not an image that I recognize, not one that I have seen before, not one that has been required of me to see.

I am left leaning against the wall of that corridor for support as I recover my breath and think through the implications of this encounter. I know, of course, that I cannot lean here forever. It is merely a moment of refuge as I prepare to run the "race" of my life. For I am struck by a dawning awareness: In a racist, imperialist world order, my privilege is predicated on the oppression of women of colour, even within feminism. Black oppression necessarily implies white privilege. This is not a man's thing, merely a construction of the patriarchy. It is part of me, a woman, a woman coloured white.

Introduction

This paper emerges out of reflections on a variety of readings from a course on "Feminism and Social Change."[1] Originally, this paper appeared as a response to one of these texts: *Unsettling Relations: The University as a Site of Feminist Struggles* (Bannerji, Carty, Dehli, Heald & McKenna, 1991). While, the Canadian authors of this book and their experiences are still highlighted in the paper, I also draw on others who ask the same tough questions and struggle through the same disturbing realities, challenging what we all too often take-for-granted about race, class, sexuality and gender.

My response to these learnings is not simply conscious or rational but is experienced, embodied, inscribed in emotion. The preceding narrative is a written representation of this intensely and acutely visceral experience. Such an educational experience is not within the normal relations of power/knowledge in the academy where the myth of objectivity, neutrality and intellectual superiority predominates. Also not within the characteristic academic scenario is an unmasking of the taken-for-granted subject, the gaze turned inward. Yet, these are precisely the means by which authors such as Bannerji, Russo, and Carty, for example, challenge academic and feminist veneer.

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[1] I am grateful to my classmates and the professor, L. Adkin, for nurturing a pedagogical process which inspired such dialogue.

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Such a project demands that I also confront my own subject positions – gendered, classed, sexualised and raced. Like most women, I feel the imprinted fear of male violence and have experienced it firsthand. I am aware of how laws, institutions and social norms construct unjust gender relations. Although I was brought up in a working class immigrant family, I was successfully acculturated though the media, a university education and a middle class profession (social work) to have since become firmly ensconced in middle class culture and its all too frequent smugness. Thus, I have some notion of the processes which homogenize and normalize ethnic and class differences. But what of race and sexuality? For me, heterosexuality has been a much more taken-for-granted subjectivity, one rarely disturbed. But now, I have reflected upon myself as sexualised, naming myself as heterosexual and questioning the taken-for-grantedness of this "choice." Similarly, as is represented in my narrative, I confront myself as raced and must locate myself anew in understanding race and racism. Here, Bannerji (1991) offers a starting point.

> The social signifiers of an oppressive experience can be "shared" by others who inhabit the same social relations of ruling but benefit from them... It is as familiar a set of practices and ideas to white people as to non-whites–to the doer and the done unto. As such, there is no reason as to why "racism" is solely a "black" experience, though there are different moments and entry points into it, since different aspects of the same social relations are visible at different intersections, from different social locations... There are many stories to tell. (p. 95–96)

The critical significance of this project is in not only challenging the dominant discourse but in challenging it from *within*. Hence, the interplay between the experience of racism from the "doer" and from the "done unto" demands that I, as a white woman, recognize and confront not only the oppression of others but my position in it. Thus, like these dauntless authors, I must "unsettle the places where [I'm] comfortable" (Bannerji et al, 1991). White women such as Russo (1991) and Roman (1993) confront this head on.

> I feel white women must analyze our relationship to race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality... It is necessary for us to acknowledge our privilege, understand how the conditions of our lives are connected to and made possible by the conditions of other women's lives... It might be helpful to speak of white supremacy, rather than just racism. White supremacy correctly places the responsibility on white women and men, rather than focusing on people of colour simply as victims of an amorphous racism. "White supremacy" as a concept forces us to look power directly in the face. (Russo, 1991, p.299)

As can likely be surmised by my narrative, this was a highly impactful revelation for me. This is not to suggest that I have never problematised my position in the social order before now, but that its impact at a personal level was intensified. For the most part, I have been oblivious to the race relations of which I am daily a part inside the university. Many of the authors challenge the "normalcy" of this oblivion. "What it is that we don't see about ourselves or that others don't see about us are the so-called normalcies" (Bannerji et al, 1991, p. 9).

The remainder of this paper is organised around three struggles within which we are positioned in the university environment: struggling within/against normalising discourses, struggling for identity/agency and struggling to transform relations of power. As in my narrative, I choose for the present to focus primarily on issues of race although I am conscious of the complex intersections with other forms of subjugation.

Struggling Within/Against Normalising Discourses

The crucial role of educational institutions in the reproduction of social relations has been studied by many theorists who are critical of the prevailing social order. For those of us who proceed/progress into higher education, the university continues the tradition of formal schooling, training us to be "civilized" members of our society. As a microcosm of society, the university thus reproduces the social relations of the larger society. This reproductive role is clearly problematised in *Unsettling Relations* and other critical poststructuralist feminist texts such as *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Mohanty, Russo, Torres, 1991).

Over and over again, such authors describe and challenge the processes whereby particular knowledges are legitimated, normalised and naturalised. Ideological boundaries are formed within which only certain questions and explanations are possible. Even, Carty (1991) suggests, exceptions do not challenge the norm but rather, work to reinforce it. Eventually, knowledges are reproduced at the ideological level and operate as common sense.

> Like all other forms of oppression, sex and race oppression are expressed and reproduced at the ideological level as though they were natural processes... An ideology of common sense... is characterized by notions people carry around in their heads and act upon without reflecting on them. (p. 29)

In this way, white is presented as everyone's reality and becomes the reference point of all knowledge and "racism becomes an everyday life and 'normal' way of seeing" (Bannerji, 1991, p. 116).

It is not however taken-for-granted by those on the other side of these normalising relations. There are copious examples of the various academic practices that silence, ignore and repress persons who stand outside the norm. University practices, like those in the larger society, are normed on the white, male, heterosexual, Euro-descendent who is certainly not disabled or "ethnic" or poor. To be different is to be judged against this norm; it is to be judged inferior. Referring to racism, Carty (1991) asserts: "They present the world which they have created as truth and objectivity but it is actually their world... White subjectivity is held up as the norm, formulating a potent ideology by which everyone else is measured merely as objects" (p. 28).

As a white feminist, it is easy and comfortable to sidestep or bypass these issues because, after all, it is the universal patriarchy that is the primary enemy. Isn't it? Carty (1991) adamantly contests this account. She argues that a feminism constructed with sexism at the centre is itself racist. This challenge is impactfully presented in a quote by Spelman (1988) which Carty includes in her essay.

> Since, in a racist and classist society the racial and class identity of those who are subject to racism and classism are not obscured, all it can really mask is the racial and class identity of white middle-class women. It is because white middle-class women have something at stake in not having their racial and class identity made and kept visible that we must question accepted feminist positions on gender identity. (p. 112)

The challenge to the feminism which many of us have known is crucial. Repeatedly, these authors, both women of colour and white women, challenge feminist orthodoxies which theorise sexism independent of race and class. They, assert that essentialist assumptions of a universal sisterhood are merely "a cloak for smuggling in the interests of privileged women... a friendly home for white middle class privilege and concerns" (Bannerji, 1991, p. 81). Many disenfranchised women reveal their sense of betrayal when excluded by "women who we had hoped to consider our sisters and allies" (Cameron, 1989, p. 321). Bannerji poignantly characterises the experience as "quintessential alienation."

Yet many have witnessed the resistance of white feminists to an analysis of our position, privilege and dominance in feminist discourse. They submit that feminism must resist the seductive comforts of a feminist "home" which effectively operates as a blinder to exploitation (Carty, 1991); that feminists must problematise the social relations of feminist knowledge production and confront the exclusions which are organised by the same principles as the inclusions (Bannerji, 1991); that what we don't have in common must be faced in order to understand our common gender (Spelman, 1988). As Carty warns, in a coalition of feminists, white feminists must be prepared to relinquish power.

Many note the risk and cost involved in struggling against normalising discourses. Carty (1991), for example, explains that, as Black *and* woman, her struggle is against both patriarchy and racism leaving her "perpetually tired from perpetual struggle." The authors describe their vulnerability as marginalised members of the academy and remind us that "even though some feminists may be 'insiders' in universities they are by no means at the centre" (Dehli, 1991, p. 46). I, too, recognize some of the ways that I have been silenced as a woman and as a feminist in the university. And, when I am painfully honest, I admit also some of the ways that I have silenced others. Our (partial) complicity is sometimes a way of surviving within the social relations of ruling inside universities. Heald (1991) describes the tensions experienced between our convictions and our insecurities.

> We may still experience a desire for approval on traditional terms; we may judge from time to time that our interests are best served by remaining within the dominant discourse; we may look for a position of safety from which to challenge dominant forms. (p. 140)

Within this intellectual climate, it is unlikely that academic freedom truly exists. Behind the "veneer of pluralistic thought" (Carty, 1991, p. 19) exists the more "subtle refined cruelty of intellectual racism and colonialism" (Bannerji, 1991, p. 70). Epistemological boundaries are clearly established through the processes of exclusion, silencing and objectification noted above. Referencing Corrigan, McKenna (1991) declares that "a broad range of studies can be pursued within educational institutions; yet those explorations are regulated and encapsulated by 'proper forms of academic expression,' which are already 'valued'" (p. 115). More conceivably, therefore, the notion of academic freedom merely obscures academic normalisation or what McKenna calls "discursive imperialism."

Struggling for Identity/Agency

All of the authors address issues of subjectivity, identity and agency. Their struggles to make sense of multiple and contradictory subject positions is clearly evident in their stories and is demonstrated in theorising which starts from their own embodied experiences.

For me, Carty's (1991) essay is an intensely compelling account of subjugated knowledges and colonised subjectivities. She poignantly recounts the ways in which her presence, her history, her humanity, her very "being" was/is repeatedly negated in classroom after classroom across the disciplines by racist professors and racist knowledge. In constructing the "outsider within," "these experiences constitute Black students' place in the social relations of academia" (p. 15). Such accounts must sound an urgent wake-up call to feminists like myself who sit in the same classrooms and do not "see" these experiences.

Each of these authors tackles the problematic of the liberalist-humanist notion of a unified, coherent subject. "In taking on a subject position, the individual assumes that she is the author of the ideology or discourse which she is speaking. She speaks or thinks as if she were in control of meaning. She 'imagines' that she is indeed the type of subject which humanism proposes" (Wheedon cited in Heald, 1991, p. 138). Within this logic, contradictions are suppressed and mythical identities are formulated.

Through an exploration of her own various subjectivities, Heald (1991) explores the ways "dominant discourses make available forms of identity which are tightly circumscribed and which exclude many people" (p. 115). Thus, the subject position of student or teacher for example, is predetermined by a packet of assumptions already in place. Again the common sense, taken-for-grantedness of social experience is revealed. Yet, she says,

> subjectivity–our experience of ourselves, which might also be called "selfhood" or "identity"–is never so straightforward as the available societal categories suggest, but is much more complex, much more contradictory, much less evident. (p. 129)

In the social world, meanings are contested and we are not totally in control of how or which of our subject positions is read by others. How we define ourselves may be invisible or irrelevant to others. Heald further suggests, for example, that the subject "woman" and "professor" are contradictory which leaves the latter position unavailable to the former subject. This resonates with my experiences in coursework, research and in student governance within the academy. Students also are complicit in this form of normalisation. For example, as president of the department's student association, my position in advocating for students is frequently contested. When I step outside the boundaries of "acceptable" student behaviour, I am sanctioned by some of my fellow students for being "militant," for not "collaborating" with administration in a more "professional" manner. The message is that I must adjust my subjectivity so that my "politics can be tolerated" (McKenna, 1991) within the subject position constructed *for* me.

Struggling to Transform Relations of Power

In her essay, Bannerji (1991) traces three channels of feminist theory–essentialist, difference and marxist–and concludes that

> subsuming concrete contradictions in an abstraction of essentialism or structuralism, or simultaneously creating multiple subjectivities while enclosing them into static "identities," does not, in the end, create a knowledge that allows us an authenticity of being and politics. For that, we need to go beyond gestures, signals and constructs, into producing an actively revolutionary knowledge... We have to end the oppressive conditions, the social organizations, ultimately not of our own making, which give rise to our experience. (p. 92)

Bannerji's words are a clarion call for resistance, for transformation, for a revolutionary consciousness. She meticulously builds a polemic which connects agency to structure, personal to social and public to private. Like others such as Mohanty (1991), she claims that the mediating bridge is an historical materialist understanding of experience. "Experience, therefore, is that crucible in which the self and the world enter into a creative union called 'social subjectivity'... [Dorothy] Smith establishes the validity of beginning from the local and the immediate–namely, our experience–in order to explore the larger social organization" (p. 97–98). Thus, experience is a form of sense-making, a type of social analysis which begins from subjectivity. No longer, therefore, must bodily knowledge be suppressed, erased, silenced. Rather, it is the basis of knowledge as is witnessed in the writing of the scholars referenced here.

At this point, it is important to interject a note about pedagogy. From this and other readings and experiences, there is little doubt in my mind that a transformative or revolutionary pedagogy is necessarily unsettling, disruptive and uncomfortable. This echoes the learnings from a research project in which I interviewed feminist and critical pedagogues who likewise

> challenge the traditional "feel good" notion of learning and believe that "... at least certain kinds of learning may happen more readily if you *don't* feel good." This implies an engagement with the learning process that "moves

> beyond academic analysis" to "connect the emotional and the intellectual."
> (Scott & Chovanec, 1994, p. 35–36)

Such a pedagogy is in opposition to dominant academic practices which regulate conflict through reason and rationality and as such act as a "key 'normalizing' feature of bourgeois social regulation... forgetting emotion, desire, pain or pleasure, making it risky and difficult to take up the kinds of 'personal' questions which we raise" (Dehli, 1991, p. 64).

Yet it is precisely this engagement with the personal that has meditated the visceral learning experience that I have divulged in this paper. I cannot imagine a more impactful pedagogy than my experience in confronting race as described in my narrative. The challenge is to build "experience" into feminist classrooms while at the same time recognizing that the constraints imposed by institutional procedures (such as grading), regulations and relations of power exist beyond the individual teacher/student relationship which is itself imbued with hierarchical and unequal power relations.

Feminist pedagogues must be continually vigilant and self-reflexive about their complicity in elitist institutional practices. In order to be fully cognizant of our position in the social order, those of us in universities must concede our admission, however marginal, to the elite and recognize that it is predicated on the oppression and suppression of non-elites. In the current neo-liberal world order, elitism is becoming more firmly entrenched and must be challenged.

Endnote

By sharing their own vulnerabilities, experiences and theories these writers have succeeded in "unsettling" my understandings of academia, feminism, race, identity and myself. In that unsettling, I am challenged to learn anew what was once familiar, taken-for-granted, obscured, to deconstruct and reconstruct my subjectivity; in effect, to unmask and reinvent myself. How much more impactful a pedagogy is possible?

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Cultural Change: Courtship Crisis

Jendju Collins

The following paper examines the influence of cultural expectations on parent-child relationships in the context of the Christian Arab Canadian community. Attention focuses specifically upon the 'courtship crisis' that arises within the families of this community, during the courtship years of second generation Christian Arab Canadian females, as a result of differences in cultural ideologies and behavioral codes. Four sources of conflict were discovered to be at the core of the crisis: breakdown of endogamy; the patriarchal authoritarian system; fear of family shame and scandal; and the rejection of the imposed Madonna archetype by one's daughters. Two Middle Eastern cultural ideological constructs in particular, the ideological construct of shame and its relation to one aspect of honor, *'ird*, and the Middle Eastern ideal of female sexuality, were central reference points for respondents.

As a system of values, ideas, and behavioral codes, honor and shame can be found in many societies. In the Middle East and circum-Mediterranean region the 'honor and shame complexes' have a long history which transcend geographical, political, religious, and cultural boundaries. Despite a wide variation in terms, meanings, practices and degree of influence, a thematic ideological core has persisted along with behavioral codes, et cetera, through time. One of the enduring aspects of the complex is the idea of *'Ird,*[1] which is family honor based on female sexual conduct,[2] specifically a man's sisters and daughters. These concepts are part of the underlying ideology of Middle Eastern cultures, and are linked to the polarity of the Madonna-Whore archetype.

Why is female sexual behavior so important? It is significant when female misconduct becomes public knowledge and therefore scandal, *fadiha*, this results in tainted *'ird*. Tainted *'ird* disgraces a family's name and reputation. This has serious ramifications for the family in many aspects of life.[3] Whether the female herself voluntarily violates the modesty code, or whether a male contributes to the violation (for example, seducing a female to sexual intercourse prior to marriage, or rape), the family is still dishonored. Female sexuality is the Achilles' Heel of the honor and shame construct, therefore, improper female sexual conduct represented a potential source of damage to family honor. A prevalent belief throughout the Middle East and some parts of Africa is that females have an uncontrollable sexual drive. This is linked to a "voracious appetite" for promiscuity (Lightfoot-Klein 1989:39). The underlying assumption that women are not in control of their passions justifies imposition of draconian controls.

Traditionally, therefore, in Middle Eastern culture, the 'modesty code' for females is extremely strict. The code consists of the following: 1) a strict dress code; 2) a very restricted behavioral code; 3) restricted mobility and access to outsiders; and, 4) little or no independent decision-making and action. Institutions such as segregation, seclusion, veiling, and in some places 'female genital deconstruction', reinforced these codes.[4] The 'world of the female' was severely restricted; the modesty code specified what aspects of life she could or could not experience.

The focus in this study was the persistence of these ideas concerning the nature of female sexuality and the persistence of the cultural modesty code. All the women in this study who were raised in *traditional* households growing-up in the Canadian context reported a strict behavioral environment which they called "the box".[5] "The box" was an intangible, yet very real defined space - - arbitrarily determined within each family - - of set limitations beyond which daughters cannot go. "The box" consists of a code of behaviors designed to ensure an Arab Canadian girl has, maintains, and is publicly perceived to have, an untainted reputation (i.e., no association whatsoever with any aspects of sexuality). "The box" consists of restrictions for language usage (no swearing, no sexual terms); a restricted dress code; no social contact with unrelated males; not being seen in public without a family member present, et cetera. In other words, "the box" is the *traditional modesty code* that operates in the Middle Eastern regions and some parts of Africa.

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[1] As opposed to *sharaf* which is honor in the broader sense.

[2] See Delaney in Gilmore's Volume of Essays (1987) who draws an analogy from botany, placing female sexuality at the core of the honor and shame complex.

[3] See Collins, 1996.

[4] Antoun (1968) provides a description of the modesty code as practiced in a Jordanian Muslim village.

Even in the Canadian context predetermined restrictions for daughters' behavior will begin to manifest themselves when she is still quite young. Christian Arab Canadian girls growing up in Edmonton desired to conform to the behavior of their peers within in the public school system. "The box" was incompatible with this. Christian Arab Canadian girls who step outside "the box" incite adversarial responses from their fathers and as a result experience some alienation from their families when they try to conform to their non-Arab Canadian peers; some resolve this by lying, some restrict their activities. "The box" acquires more definition for a girl when she begins to display characteristics of growing-up: becoming prettier, developing breasts and menstruation. The process begins with vigilant behavior on the part of fathers to keep their daughters in "the box". For example, one Christian Arab Canadian female reports the following:

> If my girlfriend and I go to a movie, my dad writes the car mileage down before we leave and when I return. I must phone when I get to the theater and when the movie is finished. He times how long it takes me by a given route to return. This is to make sure I do not make any detours.

At this stage in a girl's life the father's fear of potential shame which may befall the family due to her misconduct increases. Despite these parental beliefs and restrictions, extended socializing with non-Arab Canadians does occur among the second generation. Within the Christian Arab Canadian community daughters responses to these traditional expectations tended to fall into one of two groups: there is either an adherence to, or a rejection of, the imposed tradition. The former group was further subdivided into three subgroups based upon the daughter's motives for adherence to her father's demands. In general, the two different groups of responses by daughters to fathers, and hence by extension continued tradition, have developed into rivals for one another. There is a sharp contrast in the belief systems held among these two groups of girls. Each of the two groups hold opposing beliefs with regard to the nature of a female, female roles and what constitutes shame. Hence, teenage girls were found to follow several paths in their relations with young males. They either remained in "the box" and were "Madonnas" - at least in public; they dated secretively, but were eventually found out; or they dated openly. The latter two options resulted, sooner or later, in the 'courtship crisis'.

Data confirms the existence and influence of a traditional Middle Eastern female archetype, the Madonna-Whore, in the Canadian context. Adherence to the Madonna archetype leads to a 'feminine split', a deep division among females in the Arab-Canadian community. Those who adhere to the archetype and remain in "the box" view negatively those who do not. This defamation is sanctioned and supported by conservative elements within the community. For daughters who try to push the boundaries of "the box" or abandon it entirely, conflict results with the conservative elements within the family, especially the father. Since it is usually in the dating or courtship years that girls rebel, the crisis which ensures has been called the 'courtship crisis'.

Four sources of conflict were discovered to be at the core of the 'courtship crisis' between fathers and daughters: 1) fear of the breakdown of endogamy; 2) fear of family shame and scandal; 3) challenges to the father's authoritative role as guardian of family honor; and 4) rejection of the imposed Madonna archetype by one's daughters. These issues become articulated and discussed during the unfolding of the actual crisis. At this time individuals either position themselves behind a traditional principle or they see the principle as antiquated and change their ideology.

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[5] This term, "the box", was used only among female members of *traditional* households. The term "the box" was not used among "*modern*" females, although various aspects of "the box" were manifest within *modern* households. Within Christian Arab Canadian families, "the box" begins with the birth of a girl child. One may even say, it begins before birth.

Dating for females is seen by Christian Arab Canadian families as a highly structured part of courtship behavior and is taken far more seriously than in many Canadian families. From the point of view of traditional Arab families, these girls are entering a critical period when they become eligible for marriage. For traditional parents of this new generation growing up in Canada, these early teenage years are a time when great care must be taken so that the first man in their daughter's life becomes her husband and family dishonor is avoided. For parents there is a structured process females follow in courtship. It is not as it is for many Canadian families, a time when young people experiment with relationships and learn to interact with the opposite sex. However, Christian Arab Canadian girls want to date like their friends. If they rebel and begin to date, they experience conflict with their fathers. If they adhere to traditional expectations they are isolated from their peers. In Canadian society courtship and marriage are seen as events too significant in one's life to be decided by someone other than oneself. Hence one major reason for rebellion on the part of second generation sons and daughters is the exposure they have to this view. It is hardly surprising then that many second generation Christian Arab Canadian males and females date secretively.

It is when the father discovers evidence that his young daughter is actually seeing a young man, i.e., dating, that major confrontations begin. After the initial exposure of the daughter's dating behavior, confrontations between father and daughter increase in frequency. The initial opposition by the father is usually to the threatening idea of the breakdown of endogamy (a marital preference directed within a relatively narrow circle, in this case, Arabs, specifically Christian Arabs). The fear is that intermarriage with non-Arabs (exogamy) will eventually lead to complete assimilation into Canadian culture. This constitutes one of the major sources of anxiety initially expressed by first generation fathers. Because the potential pool of suitable mates in the local Christian Arab Canadian community is so small, some fathers make return trips to the old country in search of husbands for their daughters. One second generation woman describing the typical process involved in sending for a prospective spouse for a daughter states:

> They bring someone from the old country or try to find someone here. There is no criteria in how the guy is chosen. There are no standards followed. 'Oh I have this nephew of mine, he's gorgeous!' He could be a fat slob who rolled down the stairs with two canes, but 'Oh, he's the pick of the litter!' This is how they find them, word of mouth only, and who's available, and who's having trouble. Like, this guy could be the ugliest thing in the entire world. They will make him sound like Hercules and when he meets her, he is sitting there in his size 85 jeans, flowers in hand, and the girl has to sit there and smile and nod.

Rather than lower standards to this extent, many parents appear willing to forgo endogamy in favor of a suitable (good financial income and Christian) non-Arab Canadian male. The result is often a change in attitude in the direction of exogamy. Thus, issues of endogamy reach a point of resolution when Christian Arab Canadian parents come to the realization that it is not what their children desire and that demographics in Canada necessitate exogamous unions.

A second issue at the core of the crisis is that it involves a serious challenge to the father's authoritarian control. Fathers, in their role as guardians of family honor, are traditionally deferred to by other family members. The father was ultimately responsible for punishment and enforcement. In the courtship years daughters begin to openly contest their fathers authoritarian role and express their anger at the tactics used to control their courtship and marital intentions. Initially, these confrontations with the father are usually unsuccessful on the part of daughters. The message received by most second generation teenagers and adult children at this point is that if they display any opposition to their father's authoritarian assertions - no matter how unreasonable they may be, they will not influence him to change. The decision made by the majority of teenagers (both male and female) at this point is to respond to this rigidity by displaying an appearance of conformity with the father's demands. The motive for this presentation of compliance is to utilize any coping mechanism which will preserve peace within the family, even if it is a false presentation of peace. Hence subterfuge stratagems are employed by both daughters and sons. The emotional and mental anguish experienced by second generation teenagers and young adults as a price for this dishonest presentation, is enormous. Issues of control reach resolution through a process of three stages for the father: a denial stage which does not allow for any possibility that he is not in control; a resistance phase in which there is nothing he can do to stop change; and an acceptance phase when he must give his daughter autonomy.

Following the initial collapse of parental opposition to inter-ethnic dating, and in tandem with the confrontations over control issues, shame, honor and the fear of *fadiha* now arise as a cause of enormous conflict. It is over this issue that most turbulence occurs. To fathers, the idea that their daughters' will shame them and show them up as being incapable of raising their children properly is of major concern. This apprehension underlies the battle over control issues, especially as applied to daughters. Because it is the daughter's behavior and misbehavior that has a primary role in creating and destroying family honor, fathers insist on their adherence to culturally traditional behavior. Further compounding the frustration and anger daughters reported experiencing at this time is the fact that brothers were not subjected to the same restrictions or claims of shameful behavior. The basis of this conflict is ideological and rooted in culture. When a Christian Arab Canadian father berates his daughter, he does so not by referring to 'Christian morality', but rather by making reference to 'cultural tradition'.[6]

'Aar is an Arabic term used to denote acts representing severe shame. To commit an act of *'aar* is viewed as a severe infraction of the sexual behavioral codes applied to females, and means disgrace. *'Ird* can only be tainted through an act of *'aar*, which can only be committed by a female. Yet the consequences of *'aar* affects the entire family and its name.[7] Respondents reported that typical examples of *'aar* are: an unmarried pregnant female; an unmarried female who delivers a baby; a female who is a non-virgin on her wedding night (excluding divorcees and widows who remarry); adultery committed by a female; one who elopes with a man (her assumed lover); inter-religious marriage between Christian and Muslim Arab; and divorce. Both, being pregnant and delivering a baby out of wedlock are still considered the severest acts of *'aar* even in the Canadian context.

Issues of shame become resolved by enlarging the behavioral envelope in which women can act and retain honor. Thus, acts that were typically labeled as shame, including *'aar*, and responses to these acts, are changing considerably in most cases. Fathers eventually come to realize that daughters pursuing education, dating, marring at a later age, etc., are not violating issues of honor and shame. A female out of "the box" is no longer associated with shame and dishonor, as long as she conforms to Canadian norms of acceptable behavior.

Christian Arab Canadian men and women who most completely reject the imposed Middle Eastern ideals tend to be assertive in self-expression, and have very little contact with the community. They live, more or less, a Canadian lifestyle. For these individuals, the power of 'what others think' does not effect them in the same manner and depth as it does more *traditional* members of the community. They no longer use as a reference point, the traditional value structure of honor and shame for assessing self-worth and worth within the community. The degree of detachment from their cultural community is harder for women than for men. This is because women are subjected to additional pressures to conform to a behavioral stereotype. These pressures are imposed by the Madonna-Whore archetype, the fourth issue of conflict at the core of the courtship crisis.

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[6] Collins, 1996. See also, Dodd (1973) who states that "*'ird* appears to be a secular value rather than a religious one. The term does not appear in the Qu'ran, although both the term and the very high value attached to it existed among pre-Islamic Arabs. Islamic teachings regarding women's status and male-female relationships may be regarded as supporting the *'ird* indirectly, but it is not pre se an Islamic pattern".

[7] Collins, 1996

The courtship crisis exposes the two-dimensional and static nature of this Middle Eastern feminine ideal. The ideal insists that sexual ignorance for females is the only ideal (the Madonna). In fact, sex is tabu for non-married females not only in action but even in information. This archetype is in direct conflict with the idea of a 'good girl' in the Canadian context where a certain amount of sexual education and experience is expected and encouraged. The 'courtship crisis' forces parents and children to break the 'big tabu'.[8] Children confront tabus directly through misbehavior. In order to adapt to the current Canadian context, the female archetype must first be dismembered and then reassembled. The archetypes of male and female gender roles are so central to Middle Eastern culture that they represent the last bastion of traditional cultural identity among Arab Canadians. These archetypes are not surrendered easily. But they *are* surrendered, transmuted and recast in a mold more suited to the contemporary reality of Canadian society. This process of ideological meltdown and reformation is the "Courtship Crisis". This in fact is part of the process of acculturation.

The emerging aspects of the feminine ideal of the Arab Canadian sub-culture will then be more suitable to the spirit of the times and the geographic locality. New ideals are emerging for females which are broader, more in-depth, and more holistic in expression, than the extreme images of the previous archetypal opposition. Young women are no longer trying to be "Madonnas", nor are they assuming that the only alternative to this is to be a "Whore". The Canadian cultural context allows for more than two choices. Sexuality and honor are not mutually exclusive.

The resolution of all four of these issues, although separate in themselves, more often than not occur in combination. Honor and shame are connected to the Middle Eastern female archetypes. These archetypes represent models for enforcing women to remain true to, or live up to, the Madonna ideal because the alternative, shame, is attached to anything that deviates publicly from that archetype. Correspondingly, these ideological constructs are connected to issues of control because it is the father who tries to control the daughter's behavior from bringing shame upon the family. Responses to, and the resolution of each of these issues at the core of the courtship crisis takes a consistent form.

Now that the 'courtship crisis' has been introduced and its component parts have been analyzed, the discussion will turn to an ideological revolution that occurs primarily in the minds of the fathers as the crisis unfolds, in particular, focus will be on the phenomenon of the frozen mindset.

Many Christian Arab Canadian families who immigrated to Canada brought with them their traditional beliefs and practices which they used as a guideline and standard of conduct for childrearing, and to live their lives in Canada. However, in the process of doing so, many entered a 'frozen mindset'. This frozen mindset consists of the belief that few or no cultural changes have been, or are occurring in the old country since respondents immigrated to Canada. This perception of immobility specifically refers to beliefs and behavioral practices surrounding courtship, marriage and sexuality; honor and shame; the patriarchal family structure; and gender definition and roles, in particular those concerning females. This was found to be a common perspective among all first generation respondents, before having made a return trip to the 'old country', and still to be found among many first generation respondents who have never returned to the 'old country'.

In taking a trip to the 'old country' with the expectation of finding "everything just the way it was when we left", respondents were 'culture-shocked" to encounter everything had changed, in particular, in the areas of courtship, marriage and sexual knowledge transmission - which as a consequence, affected the constructs of honor and shame and their traditional associations with regard to females.

The confrontation with these cultural changes, in turn, made the respondents themselves appear antiquated to their friends and family in the old country, who had moved along with these new changes. Respondents tended to report experiencing a stark realization that the world continued to change yet their perception of it remained frozen in time. They had been perceptually and behaviorally static all these years in Canada, while the people back home had progressed ahead of them.

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[8] Collins, 1996.

This shock acts as a catalyst for thawing the 'frozen mindset' Arab immigrants may be living in, in the host country. It is when the fathers come to understand and accept the following facts that the frozen mindset begins its dissolution process:

1. realizing that change has occurred in the old country
2. that the traditional ideology will not work now in the context of this cultural change
3. that if they try to maintain this ideological framework from which they base and reference their thought and action, they will be out of tune with others in the Arab community here in a Canadian context, and out of harmony with other members of their family.

Fathers observed the following changes in the old country:

1. behavioral and attitudinal changes by, and towards females;
2. the changes in parental authority;
3. the changes in attitudes and practices of courtship, marriage, and sexual knowledge transmission
4. the changes in attitudes and behaviors associated with honor and shame.

The initial experience of shock for fathers upon observing these changes in the old country is followed by the experience of a 'sense of relief'. Behavior, activity, and beliefs which were once considered shameful but are now viewed with general public acceptability, contributes much to alleviating anxiety fathers were experiencing in relation to their own daughters. This is turn assists fathers in making a relatively smoother transition to acceptance of these issues which was almost immediate: either while still in the old country during their visit, or upon returning to Canada.

Thus the resolution phase constitutes an ideological conflict which has to be broken down in the mind of the fathers before resolution occurs, and before the family can be reintegrated. The first step in the resolution process is when the ideological system starts to fragment. One factor which contributes to this fracturing process is a return trip to the old country. But even in the absence of this experience, fathers who still adhere to the frozen mindset can learn from the experiences of other families who have been through the courtship crisis, and who have made an ideological change to harmonize with more contemporary times.

In summary then, this study has indicated that young Christian Arab Canadian women dating in Canada must go through extraordinary levels of anxiety and often extreme conflicts with their fathers. If they adhere to traditional expectations they are isolated from their peers. If they rebel, and begin to date, they experienced conflict with their fathers. These conflicts may begin before puberty and involve threats of violence, acts of violence, restrictions on social interaction, arranged and/or early marriages to men who in turn may try to keep the women in the same old "box". It is hardly surprising then that many Christian Arab Canadian females (and males[9]) date secretly. Exposure of covert dating behavior leads to a major family crisis. Whether it is set off by exposure or initiated by overt rebellion on the part of the girl herself, the confrontation between father and daughter once set in motion, is so intense and dramatic that it represents a milestone in the process of ideological assimilation in Canada.

The traditional female archetypes and the honor and shame complexes which are still found operating among the Christian Arab Canadian community, immersed both males and females in a behavioral code which conditions them to particular stereotypes. These may have been appropriate to past cultural contexts but today in Canada, and even in some Middle Eastern countries, they are not. Neither the North American context, nor the ideological climate of the times today, provide any fertile ground for the traditional Middle Eastern female archetypes to be maintained.

This transformation of the ideological and behavioral constructs of Middle Eastern honor and shame in the Canadian context indicates a shift is occurring in the traditional Middle Eastern value system which was characterized by an "other-determined' and "other-oriented"[10] focus for the individual, to a focus which now centers on the 'Self' as a basis for decision-making and action. Respondents began to examine their own thinking, adopted new perspectives of viewing their situation and ideologies, then made the choice to act in areas previously considered barred to them. The research process provided an opportunity for respondents to grow through deliberative examination of their experiences and belief systems.

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[9] See Collins, 1996.

[10] Patai, (1983).

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Supermodels In The Rainforest (A Teacher Out Of His Tree?)

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Introduction

My work with students viewing *Supermodels in the Rainforest* (Astral Video Productions, 1994) takes up Lacan's recognition that if images are "our animal weakness," (Seminar II,, 88), then a central problem in teaching media studies has to be about the teacher's paradoxical relationship of desire with the specular images that invigorate and mediate our relationship with the Real. This paper will explore the two forms of the split subject or neurotic separation I encounter in the Symbolic register: hysteria and obsession. It is my argument that teaching invariably locates the subject within the tension between having *not enough pleasure* (hysteria) and *too much pleasure* (obsession). Lured as I am by the video, I realize that "you can refuse what you despise but you can also refuse what you like too much" (Soller, 253).

In scenes from the video, I will illustrate being snared in what Zizek calls *la traversee du fantasme*. From Zizek, I will argue that working with *Supermodels in the Rainforest* was for me, an attempt to learn how to "gain the minimum of distance toward the phantasmatic frame that organizes one's enjoyment" and then to momentarily "suspend its efficiency" (117, 1996a). From Zizek I draw the impulse to suggest that my attraction and enjoyment of *Supermodels in the Rainforest* is not the enemy. Obviously my libidinal investment in the video is one that is lures all the way down. The point is not to get rid of jouissance as Zizek claims, but to "unhook" jouissance from the phantasmatic frames that support its presence in my affect. Such an act of "unhooking" will offer a new way of seeing the phantasm as an "undecidability" that remains part of my inertia and momentum as a teacher. According to jag jagodzinski, Lacan was both his own analysand and analyst at once (30, 1996). Perhaps Lacan's strategy gestures towards the "undecidability" that I am clumsily attempting here.

To write and teach in a language that produces 'double writing' is a ploy that I undertake with some trepidation. Rather than being someone who is supposed to know (the position of the teacher in Symbolic Register), I read myself as the neurotic *o(su)ffering* the symptoms of hysteria and obsession. These symptoms are emblematic of the neurotic: defending against an incompatible idea (Soler, 249, 1996). In repressing *what that does not belong*, I am the neurotic displacing *what that does not belong* in my classroom as a public space that sits in-between the modern and postmodern condition. My classroom lives in a nexus of time where teachers and teaching are either "too early or too late", where "consciousness is premature or after the fact" (Foster, 207, 1996). Here is the Lyotardan sense that the postmodern calls us to live through the insistence of the reconstructed past and future. The *subject of the present* and the *present of the subject* are genealogical chronotypes that are co-emergent in my subjectivity. What follows is a struggle for a way of *writing/knot* writing that avoids the illusory promise of self-discovery or critical reflection that jagodzinski cautions against.

A Confession: Guilty or (k)not?

In a feminist-poststructural interrogation of my complicity as a researcher, this paper tropes the usual suspects. As a heterosexual, male, middle-aged high school teacher who claims to be a committed environmentalist and advocate for gender equality, how can I (not) live with myself being attracted to the video *Supermodels in the Rainforest*? I first stumbled upon the video in late 1995 when I received an advertisement billing the program as a fundraising effort to raise public awareness about the destruction of the rainforest. Marketed as a "celebration of music, beauty, and life" the video was a one hour long hybrid that claimed to be a "video documentary." This award-winning documentary featured Sabrina Barnett, Nicole Breach, Leilani Bishop, Brooke Boisse, Tasha Moto Cunha, Darja Lingenberg, Rebecca Romijin, Brenda Schad, and Victoria Secret's top model Frederique Van Der Wahl.

I was drawn especially to the video by Frederique's involvement, having been a fan of hers for a couple of years. But how could I justify buying such a video for our social studies department? The Superego dictated my crime before I could commit it: "what are you thinking - you are a teacher - you can't possibly use this in the classroom!" Yet, as Zizek draws from Lacan: "the art of looking for excuses is boundless" (68, 1994). Here is one excuse. In 1995 the video received Gold Awards at both the Worldfest-Houston International Film Festival and the Worldfest-Charleston International Film Festival. How about this excuse? The video is entertaining for students - structured around a series of eight photo shots featuring each model. Interspersed in each shot is a brief commentary by one the models, a narrative voice-over by a commentator who describes a variety of threats to the globe because of the destruction of the rainforest. Each model is given three minutes of exposure, either dancing or being photographed for a calendar with the same name as the video. Surely the students will get a lot out of this polysemy of pleasures?

In writing all of this I realize the eyes of the Superego are still looking. The story I am telling no longer makes sense; or in Lacanian terms, " I no longer have a coherent self to make sense of" (See Zizek, 77, 1994). My embarrassment at telling you these 'teacherly' justifications for ordering the video and showing it to my students is a self-erasure, a falling away from an 'ex-timate body' that used to be a name I called my self. What follows as I describe my viewing of the video is not an effort to mediate or negotiate a rational, professional 'teacherly' self back into the classroom. Rather, I take up the (pre)text that Zizek draws from Lacan that "the only truly ethical stance is to assume fully the impossible task of symbolizing the Real, inclusive of it necessary failure" (200, 1994). In this context, what follows is a description of an empty set - what may be a ridiculous pretext for showing what desire is: more desire. "Desire is desire for a desire" (*Ibid.* 211). So here/hear the savage (w)rites.

The key segment of the video I want to draw on features the international model Frederique Van der Wahl, known principally for her role in *Victoria's Secret* catalogues and more currently her line of fragrances. Framed against the backdrop of the Costa Rican rainforest, Frederique 's allure is configured around the snare of vision and sound. Following is an excerpt from a monologue she delivers half way through her portion of the video.

> *What is happening to the rainforest is really terrible, it is really disastrous, for example in certain places. I mean hearing about certain places I can't name because of the government guards behind me where 80 to 90% will be gone in a few years because of capitalism and certain issues what are not that important... it will effect everything in our world today...I think people should fight for this cause.* (Frederique Van Der Wahl)

A diegesis is constructed around the rhyming effects of music track, narration and the pastoral foreground. Here we are in the realm of what *was* - soon we will be confronted with the *future* disaster of the cutting down of the rainforest. Frederique's reference to the off-camera "government guards" introduces an extradiegetic element to the scene. Here is an evoked off-screen presence that is a stand-in for the big Other, the monster that threatens "the immaculate dream".

The polysemic quality of the video is further evident in this excerpt when one considers the dialogic play of narration utterance, music, and location. The fusion of narration, the *Duran Duran* song, and the background rainforest shots act to construct "spatial and temporal indicators...fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole" (Bakhtin, 84, 1981) To construct the sense of interconnectedness of time and space, or what Bakhtin called "chronotypes".

In the dialogic construction along axis of meaning, the *Supermodels* video plays these axes: *nature-technology, intruder-native, sensual-mechanicized.* As Richard Middleton has done in his reading of gender construction and agency in Eurythmics' hit recordings (1995), one can see in the *Supermodels* video the dialogic play between audience subjectivity, the interactive voices (the diegetic and extradiegetic narration) set against music background and visual settings.

In this sequence the transition from shot to shot is saturated with the mediations of the *Duran Duran* lyrics from the song "Come Undone" that circulate around the Imaginary invocations of an "immaculate dream made breath and skin' and the invocation to fight for the rainforest.

Mine, immaculate dream made breath
and skin
I've been waiting for you
Signed, with a home tattoo,
Happy birthday to you was created for
you
(can't ever keep from falling apart
At the seams
Can't I believe you're taking my heart
To pieces)

Oh, it'll take a little time,
might take a little crime
to come undone now
(PRECHORUS)

We'll try to stay blind
to the hope and fear outside
Hey child, stay wilder than the wind
And blow me in to cry
(CHORUS)
Who do you need, who do you love
When you come undone
(repeat)
(Verse 2)
Words, playing me *deja vu*
Like a radio tune I swear I've heard
before
Chill, is it something real
Or the magic I'm feeding off your
fingers

(Can't ever keep from falling apart
At the seams
Can I believe you're taking my heart
To pieces)
Lost, in a snow filled sky, we'll make it
all right
To come undone now
(*Duran Duran* lyric sheet, 1993)

Notes on my first viewing of the clip:

> *On first brush there is a haunting, enigmatic quilting of a rhetorical question for me: I become overcome with active anaclitic desire; wanting to posses the image of Frederique, until, of course, I realize she is just an image. But she remains for me what is left outside the image. A month ago I received an autographed picture from her after sending a note to her website. Or was it a secretary or assistant that signed the photo? I struggle for what Lacan would call the point de capiton, a signifier that will 'button down" my desire for her (see Bracher, 29, 1993). As the Duran Duran song plays on I want to be the One for Frederique, the One who will be there when she 'comes undone'. Such a desire is the passive anaclitic form of Symbolic Order desire (to be the bearer of the master signifiers that the other wants). I can feel the music and video work on me as I see myself being the one for the other. Then I snap back. Jouissance fades.*

In my notes I move in Zizek's reading of my desire: to be the ONE for Frederique. The obsessional neurotic and the hysteric emerges. The obsessional neurotic wants to prevent, by means of compulsive rituals, the Other's desire from emerging in its radical heterogeneity, as incommensurable with what he thinks he is for himself (Zizek, 177, 1994).

For the obsessional neurotic, the catastrophe is that everything depends on him. For the hysteric the catastrophe is that nothing depends on him. Perhaps this is where the subliminity of the video clip of Frederique slides for me; as a traumatic crossing in-between the voided Imaginary possibilities of being the *no-thing* and *every-thing* for Frederique. I am denied any possibility of the subliminity of 'love'; she cannot fall in love with me since I am nothing more than myself - a fan who looks from afar. She remains '*uncomed* and *undone*' - a cruel reversal of my desire for her. She lacks more than I can bear.

This scene also raises the issue of the role of the voice in *Supermodels in the Rainforest*. As Mary Ann Doane suggests, the voice in cinema acts as Lacan calls it, as the "invocatory drive" (*la pulsion invocatrice*) (cited in Stam, 60, 1992). The voice remains throughout the film infrequently used. Indeed, except for Frederique's commentaries, the bulk of the narrative text is provided by a secondary narrator. A metadiegetic level is thus inserted. The numerous statistics provided in the film punctuate dance scenes and panning shots of the various models.

What one notices throughout the video is the lack of fluidity in the voice-overs of the models - they are given sporadic moments to construct a story line or background to the what Bakhtin would call the "centripetal" forces of the video towards a unity of the video as a photo shot/travel log. Without the secondary narration and the metonymy of the river as a means of transportation the video would remain incomprehensible. I draw on Fiske's metaphor of culture as a river of discourses (7, 1996). Within the flow of competing representations and events there is continuity and disjuncture, undercurrents and dominant flows.

> Currents that had been flowing together can be separated, and one turned on the other, producing conflict out of the calmness. There are deep powerful currents carrying meanings of race, gender and sexuality, of class and age: these intermix in different proportions and bubble up to the surface as discursive "topics, " such as "family values or "abortion"...and these discursive "topics" swirl into each other - each is muddied with the silt of the others, none can flow in unsullied purity or isolation (*Ibid.*)

Reading Fiske's metaphor into the *Supermodels* video might seem over-determined given the preeminence in the video of the river scenes that run through the program. The lengthy dance scenes, juxtaposed against the scenes of devastation offer textures of the grotesque.

Consider another model in the video, Darja Lingenberg, who sees the photo shoot as not some "normal bathing suit calendar...it is going to be beautiful and it is for a purpose." As the camera fades out from her sitting on the beach a fade-in shot takes the viewer to her dancing on beach at sunset, and then seamlessly to her writhing around in a boat dressed in a full body suit covered with *faux* snake-scale designs.

Mary Ann Doane raises Freud's evocation of the torrid dark continent of Africa as a metaphor for female sexuality in the patriarchal code of imperial conquest and exploration (Doane, 209-48, 1991). Here is a reading of the video that reminds me that there is virtually no reference made to the specific location of the video shot. We are only obliquely told in the credits and advertising material that accompanies the video that it is shot in the Costa Rican rainforest. For Doane, what is significant about a journey to torrid zones is that it is for the west, a journey without maps or referents. Indeed, I would draw from Doane's claim that hot zones are the realm of the Imaginary - places where all things are possible in the mind of modernity. Contrasted to the cold, alpine and northern climates where without a map one dies. As Stedman argues, the imagination of the west is not configured around "the construction of the self around some arrogantly figured Other, some blank hot zone of darkness", rather, it is construed around "the cold hard facts" of a world where precision was necessary for survival and colonization (90-91, 1995).

Thawing out the 'Cold Hard Facts': The neuroses of being 'smart/beautiful for a purpose'

It is axiomatic that in cultural criticism that employs psychoanalysis, the central project for the teacher in working with students is working through the chiasma of desires that flow within conflicting discourses. Like Darja Lingenberg, who wants to be *beautiful for a purpose*, I want to do media studies for *a purpose*. In Lacan's four discourses of cultural criticism (the discourse of the *university, analyst, hysteric,* and *master*), it is clear that all modes of signification act to valorize and repress different factors of psychic life: knowledge production, ideals, self-division, and jouissance (Bracher, 53, 1993). What I have applied so far in my reading of *Supermodels* is the discourses of the *university* and the *analyst*, all (not so?) cleverly veiled perhaps by the discourse of the *Master*. Drawing on the analytical tools of the university I have attempted to construct my analysis around systems of knowledge: the tropes of humanities scholarship and scholarly footnotes are exemplars of the discursive moves of the University in my paper. My emphasis has been on producing more knowledge - not empowering students or myself to act, desire, fantasize or embrace jouissance.

In other ways I have appropriated the discourse of the *Master* as I deploy criticisms of eco-tourism as a twisted form of capitalism. Here I play the game of cultural critic who *just might* know how to save the rainforest and rescue my students (and myself) from death. But, I also remain embroiled in the discourse of the hysteric, where I am unable to produce my own master signifiers that help me work through the lures of the *Supermodels* video. I am doubly hystericized by having to present this paper as a coherent text that might give the master signifier to the other, to the reader.

In Seminar III Lacan argues that all human knowledge is tied to paranoia. Nice to know this when engaged in teaching. All seeking is hiding. All hiding is seeking. The *fort da fort da* game returns as the gaze and as love object. So here I am given the task of reading Lacan within "the dialectic of jealousy" to get things right - which is the "primordial manifestation of communication" (Seminar III, 39). Rather than set myself up for inevitable failure (which is all of our destinies in Lacan), what follows is a shuttling back and forth between two quotes from Lacan:

> When we see ourselves we see only a look. We do not get nearer to what we are.
> The mirror image is back to front. (Cited in Sarup, 14-15, 1989)

Lacan's reading of phenomenology influenced his work as a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst. From Merleau-Ponty, for example, he was reminded that consciousness is not an object but an attempt to piece together a set of incoherent desires. The "map of I" extends as far as I can reach, but I can only reach as far as I can see. Meaning and apprehension are melded by the act of "mimicry"; we are captured in the image outside of ourselves. This capacity to image-in (imagine) forms the basis for Lacan's *Imaginary* register: the specular relationship the child constructs with the visual field of sensings. My *Ideal Ego* is the place I see for myself (the look), while the *Ego Ideal* is the place from which I look. "The Ego is what puts the Subject aside" (Lacan *Readings Seminars I and II*, cited in Feldstein, 41,)."

Tragedy is a Master that enjoys its own reason. The hysteric enjoys no reason. The hysterical symptom lies in the dream, in the Imaginary where contradiction is not possible. Thus I am drawn to Frederique and the Supermodels as they slide through the video.

I am an obsessive, drawn as I am to come before you today and register my complaint within the Symbolic code of the analyst's discourse that I have appropriated. That is the difference between seeing me as a hysteric or obsessive: both are neurotic symptoms of the same cause: the hysteric plays out his refuge in the Imaginary, the obsessive in the Symbolic. Slips of the tongue, dreams, and other processes that live close to the unconscious are for the hysteric. The hysteric in constantly unsatisfied since there are no signifiers for his jouissance. The obsessive sees his desire as impossible - he is lost in thought and tries to be the master of his desire through too much thinking. The hysteric on the other hand, talks too much (see Soler, 263-266, 1996).

I remain obsessed by my own inability to finish what I have started. This is the problem for the obsessive "who plugs up the lack with signifiers" (Soler 270). The mirror of this page reminds me that I am the reflexive split between my (narcissistic) vision and the (in)capacity of my grasp to shape the objects of the world into that image. The word (my text) is never adequate for the thing: a repetition, a look, can never overcome the what it aims at. What I look at is not there. If, as Lacan says, "I am the quest for myself", then I am not in trouble, I am trouble. Any effort to grasp at ones self in order to get to ones self is nothing more than mental wanking. This is bad. It may be a sin. Better though, to deny my symptom?

For I know that nothing good dwells in me, that is, in my flesh; for the wishing is present in me, but the doing of the good is not. For the good that I wish, I do not do; but I practice the very evil that I do not wish. Rom. 8 18-20

So my eye(I) speaks.

Wretched man that I am! Who will set me free from the body of this death? Rom. 8: 24

I have constructed *Supermodels in the Rainforest* is a palimpsest of my *excess* and *gratuity* (the response to the Father) of an ego and a world that is guilty of burning in its guilt. We live in the gaze of the big Other that resulted from the trauma we experience from the loss of innocence. In my evil I am chased from the Garden of Eden, out to the unmapped torrid zones of the rainforest from where *the Thing* comes at me. Like *Nature* or *Woman, It* is always out there. Is this why I am *not a good enough* environmentalist? teacher? social activist? Perhaps I enjoy being beaten? There is no point in trying to save *Nature*, since *Nature* (like *woman*) does not exist. It is like all 'torrid zones': unmappable. Likewise there is no point in viewing the models since they too are the phantasms that carry the gaze and voice as love objects of the Father of Enjoyment. Yet, I still burn for Frederique. This has become my "little death", like orgasm is coined in Russian. Monique David-Menard (1989) takes up Lacan's statement that "judgement, thought, and so on are discharges that are energestic inasmuch as they are inhibited" within the Imaginary's relation orgasmic motor function. I would extend her argument to argue that the orgasm is an operation looking for its letter (in the Symbolic). Certainly Zizek's work could prove helpful in reading the other's judgement of the orgasm as the *letter/come* to be delivered by the other who desires me (for example see Zizek, 2-5, 1996b). Yet as Donne wrote, "my face in thine eye, thine in mine appears" (The Good Morrow).

Freud said civilization depends on our capability to renounce images.

Working with students in media studies first invites me to become a stranger to my self. I accept from Lacan, that as I live in-between desire and prohibition; my self-sufficient image of myself (again my ego exercising its own prerogatives?) comes to be nothing/something more than error. I hover over zero. Here I read Lacan's take on the human subject/ego: as the split that lives in the play of the look and the gaze, continually mediating the sacrifice that cannot be made, the reward that cannot be achieved. Orgasm, like death, brings us to zero (see Zizek's discussion of the "orgasm of forces," 30-35, 1996b0. But to begin (a)gain. The rotary motion of the drives calls us into the world. A divine madness (Zizek, *Ibid.*).

The other day I thought, "maybe this paper will be just another enigma for neurotics and other like-minded hand-wringing academic cultural critics like myself." Then I read that "if a lifetime is the thickness of a page, then time would be an encyclopedia 70 miles thick." (John Sherba, of the Kromos Quartet, in an interview in UTNE Reader, pp. 102-103, Jan.-Feb. 1997.) So I'm compelled like John, "by the idea of reconciling the expanse of time with what a person's lifetime can be." Both John and I are hysterics, perhaps obsessed too, with the vector of time. Perhaps, both a leaf and the trees in the rainforest are metonyms for the pages of the encyclopedias that stretch beyond our ability to read and grasp *the thing*.

So few days, so many good books to read. So many beautiful (wo)men. Better a dream in the forest? *Duran Duran* asked the same question of Frederique:

> Who do you need, who do you love
> When you come undone?

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Collective Kitchens:
Making Poverty, Gender, Participation And Cooperation Unproblematic.

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The focus of my thesis was Collective Kitchens which are groups of women cooking together to improve their and their families' food security. Collective kitchens are described as community development alternatives that can contribute to the empowerment of participants while pursuing increased food security. There are contradictions, however, in implementing purposive empowerment based community development alternatives within patriarchal, individualistic and profit-oriented societies. Issues in relation to poverty, gender, participation and cooperation emerge and need to be addressed.

Furthermore, globalization processes add to the challenge because, as Cary (1979) pointed, macro level events that remove power from communities make the implementation of empowerment based community development initiatives challenging. Trends such as privatization, reduction of government spending and of state responsibility together with trade liberalization maintain dominant social arrangements and favour increased competition for resources within and between groups. Thus, increasing the challenges of implementing community development initiatives at home and abroad.

In itself complex, community development appeals to disparate groups and it is often promoted by groups of contradictory ideologies (Campfens, 1992). The complexity of community development highlights the need for critical reflection and analysis whenever a community development initiative is promoted as model for social change. Often, community development has been vulnerable to manipulation and mystification. It has been used to force the goals of government on communities, a form of social control detrimental to people and contrary to a philosophy of empowerment. Labonte (1990) who identified this use of community development has distinguished it from *empowerment based community development.* Taking the agenda of government to local community groups, which Labonte (1990) called *community based programming*, however, does not lead to authentic participation and empowerment.

The Collective Kitchens Handbook (EBH, 1992, p. 36), the most widely used guide for implementing collective kitchens describes collective kitchens as community based programs requiring the commitment of sponsors. Collective kitchens that follow such format are understood as programs that focus on achieving a measure of food security to participants but which may also contribute to redefine our understanding of social responsibility regarding poverty and our view of the poor as increasingly responsible for achieving their own food security. Program oriented collective kitchens may encourage participation limited to the boundaries of the small cooking groups. Within this context participation may be quite task oriented. Defined by selection of recipes, budgeting and food preparation, participation fails to favour the development of a reflective-critical stance.

Often, agencies implementing collective kitchens fail to address any discrepancies between the image of collective kitchens presented in Stir It Up (NFB, 1994) and the one presented in the Collective Kitchens Handbook (EBH, 1992). Although some agencies exhibit Stir It Up (NFB, 1994) to participants in collective kitchens, most agencies simply follow the Collective Kitchens Handbook (EBH, 1992). I will explore four areas where problematic issues are made unproblematic either by not addressing them or by accepting technical oriented practices. Lack of reflection regarding collective kitchens is consistent with community based programming. Excerpts from documents and from collaborators in my study of collective kitchens are presented in connection with the four areas previously mentioned. The areas to be discussed are: increasing food security among low income women participating in collective kitchens; overcoming isolation, increasing low income women's participation; developing cooperation and solidarity among low income women participating in collective kitchens.

Increasing food security among low income women.

Diane Norman, the nutritionist who developed collective kitchens in Montreal in 1986 and inspired by the comedores populares of Peru she had recently visited, described collective kitchens as follows:

> "The collective kitchens came into being because...How are you going to feed people who do not have enough money?" (NFB, 1994).

Food Security: feeding those who cannot feed themselves

Primarily, collective kitchens are concerned with the provision of food to those who have insufficient financial resources to provide food for themselves. Specifically they are concerned with increasing the food security of low income women and their families. This concern with food security has been clearly stated in the Collective Kitchens Handbook (EBH, 1992) as well as in the video Stir It Up (NFB, 1994) as the basic goal in implementing collective kitchens.

Participants in my study supported this view of collective kitchens and described collective kitchens as a source of financial support in difficult economic times. They all agreed that the food collectively prepared helped to increase their food security because half of the cost of the food prepared was contributed by the sponsoring agency. Marita, a collaborator, however, questioned the amount of help provided to participants in collective kitchens as limited. She said the following:

> "To me collective kitchens are a financial help for those who do not have enough money to buy their food....But it should be respectful, I mean they should respect each other....I accompanied them to buy and we had to buy all this and sometimes the money was not enough, or the food! Then we made less and we had conflicts...Because if this program is for people of low resources they should help each other more!...Because right now you cannot eat with five dollars." (Fernandez, 1996).

Marita found that the support agencies provided was insufficient and, in her view, it was related the development of competition for resources within some collective kitchen groups. Serious challenges arise in preparing food within the limited budget provided to participants in collective kitchens. Issues related to budget limitations are not addressed within the groups; this, in turn, highlights the lack of ownership that participants experience within collective kitchens. Budget limitations, within collective kitchens, are also consistent with a view of the poor as people who, although need to be encouraged to take greater responsibility over their lives, are not to be provided but with very limited resources and support to achieve it. Often, the needs of low income women are not acknowledged and participants, rather than feeling able to ensure their own empowerment, may feel powerless. Marita said the following:

> "People (or society in general) are blind right now...The need is visible but some people do not want to see it. And if they are facing the need in their lives...what are they to do?" (Fernandez, 1996).

In addition, difficulties in acknowledging the poor in Canada were described by Magenta when she discussed her initial thoughts about collective kitchens. She said:

> "When I saw for the first time that they started to cook...I believe that they were not going to work. It looked strange to me that in this country people would accept to do a collective kitchen like the ones we have in our own countries. In our countries there are poor people like here, but, we accept them. Here they are not accepted." (Fernandez, 1996).

Food security has become an issue in Canada since the need of developing alternatives, such as collective kitchens, helping individuals to achieve a measure of food security is becoming acceptable. The meaning of such change, to the lives of people affected by food insecurity, needs further attention. Responsibility, in ensuring food security, is shifting away from the state toward individuals in need. This contributes to an understanding of food security as an issue connected to charity rather than connected to the basic rights of those in need.

Those with no money: the poor in collective kitchens

There is shame associated with poverty and those in need, the poor, are often blamed for their poverty when poverty is perceived as related to personal flaws rather than to power and inequality. Collective kitchens can be stigmatizing when they are understood as programs for the poor. Marita referred to her daughter understanding of collective kitchens in the following manner:

> "Oh my children...They were not very happy (with her participation). My daughter used to say: "Mammy that is not for us because we are not that poor." They believed the collective kitchens were only for people of very few resources. Then as I participated they didn't like it very much and they didn't like their food from one day to the next -frozen." (Fernandez, 1996).

To protect participants from stigma associated to food insecurity collective kitchens are encouraged to be more inclusive. They are offered as alternatives that provide opportunities, for people of varied income levels, in terms of achieving goals that move beyond food security issues. For example, collective kitchens are discussed in terms of the opportunities for learning about food preparation and experimenting with new recipes while working in groups.

A growing need to acknowledge the existence of issues of food insecurity among low income Canadians, together with a desire to recognize the resourcefulness of the poor in dealing with food insecurity, had contributed to describe collective kitchens as a space where personal and societal responsibility and commitment for social change can be balanced. This involves the development of collective kitchens that move beyond a technical concern with achieving a modest measure of food security and towards collective kitchens that empower participants to act as food insecurity involves issues in connection to power and resource distribution, it needs to be understood in its complexity.

When the Collective Kitchens Handbook (EBH, 1992, p. 36) describes collective kitchens as alternatives for incorporating the resourcefulness of the poor in addressing food insecurity, however, a technical approach is selected. Such an approach fails to address power and resource distribution imbalances contributing to a superficial view of poverty, described as "lack of money." that does little justice to the complexity of the social construction of poverty and contributes little to participants' understanding of the social reproduction of systems of oppression.

> "Lack of money is a major obstacle to obtaining a well balanced diet...Yet people on low income make do with the resources available to them. The Collective Kitchens Project cultivates this resourcefulness...Participants contribute their time, energy and money and take home...healthy meals for their families" (EBH, 1992, p. 35).

Unequal access to resources and the existence of systemic barriers reproducing inequality, need to be discussed in the context of collective kitchens if collective kitchens are to contribute to participants' empowerment. The need for more egalitarian distribution of resources emerges particularly for the development of collective kitchens that favour food security beyond charity. It is true that within collective kitchens participants and agencies share in the responsibility of increasing, in a modest measure, the food security of participants and their families; but, oppressive social arrangements affecting low income women must be questioned.

The gender connection: poverty and women

Within collective kitchens gender is not treated as problematic. Thus, although most participants in collective kitchens are low income women, they are referred to as "people" within the Collective Kitchens Handbook as if gender was irrelevant. Most documents, and the majority of collaborators in my study, treated gender as neutral, almost as unimportant. Documents describing collective kitchens seriously contribute to the invisibility of gender as an issue of relevance for collective kitchens. It is surprising that gender is treated in this manner in view of a) the overwhelming participation of women in collective kitchens, b) the traditionally feminine activity performed within the groups, food preparation; and, c) the feminist concern with housework in general.

Most collaborators in my study adhered to gender neutral language that referred to participants in collective kitchens as "gente", Spanish equivalent of people. To my surprise, only one collaborator, Marita, defined collective kitchens in gendered terms, or as the "work of women." She said:

> "To me (collective kitchens) are...something, a work! A collective work that a group of women do and thanks to that one learns from others." (Fernandez, 1996).

To Marita, however, gender was in general quite relevant. For example, concerned with Casa Celeste's policies (the agency where she attended collective kitchens) and convinced that Casa Celeste was a women's organization, she said the following:

> "If an organization is for women then it has to be for women...There was a time that the boyfriends or husbands of the women used to get there! Then what happened was that I didn't like it! Because the place is for ladies, for women only. Then when the men arrived I felt bad because then one couldn't talk anymore about what one could talk before. Even men were cooking at the collective kitchens..." (Fernandez, 1996).

In general, collective kitchens do not encourage participants to address gender as a relevant issue. As other challenges, gender is transformed into a non-issue by taking it for granted and making it in this manner invisible. The issue of poverty in relation to women, or the "feminization of poverty", is made invisible as an issue in connection with collective kitchens when female participants are named "people". By extension feminist concerns with the reproduction of traditional roles for women are also made invisible. Thus, an overwhelming majority of female low income participants, addressed in general in gender neutral terms, is made invisible as a group and with them their issues also become invisible.

Documents from the Coalition of Collective Kitchens of Quebec (1995) formed in 1991, and personal conversations with Johanne Talbot (1995) from the same organization, made evident an interest in extending collective kitchens to varied groups (students, seniors, the physically challenged). A concern with extending collective kitchens may be valid; but, attention needs to be paid to the effect of extending collective kitchens because by extending them to everybody the groups may fail to address the needs of those more likely interested in increasing food security. Existing connections between food insecurity, poverty and women, in the context of social transformation, can be lost. Collective kitchens that move away from a central concern with food security among low income women can lose their purpose(s).

When collective kitchens are understood separate from history and context, they can contribute to the reproduction of oppression through acceptance of ideologies oppressive to participating low income women. Existing contradictions can remain unexamined and opportunities for reflection may not be included; thus, limiting the development of reflective, questioning attitudes and favouring collective kitchens that follow a technical approach.

In summary, when issues related to food security, poverty and gender are not addressed within collective kitchens, societal views about the poor in general, and about low income women in particular, are reproduced. Problematic areas, such as whose responsibility is to ensure that all members of society have adequate access to food or about the processes that best ensure this, are assumed to be non-problematic contributing to the maintenance of oppression.

Overcoming isolation, encouraging participation

Collective kitchens are also described as initiatives that can help women to overcome isolation. Johanne Talbot (1995), from the Coalition of Collective Kitchens of Quebec, also described a need to increase, in Canada, participation levels in general. Lack of participation or increased isolation are perceived as detrimental to both individuals and society.

> "But a lot of the country and the provinces realized how the social fabric was disintegrating. The collective kitchens are a starting point to rebuild it." (Talbot, 1995).

Single moms, described as particularly vulnerable to isolation, can be the focus for collective kitchens perceived as a mechanism to transform this situation. The Collective Kitchens Handbook (1992) addresses isolation and the need for increased participation as follows:

> "Being home with small children leaves you with a feeling of isolation, and it' worse when you are on social assistance...this program benefits all of us in that way -we can talk about common problems....The collective kitchen project recognizes the value of people working together to help themselves and each other...to build a sense of community and to feel good about themselves." (EBH, 1992, p. 36).

Collaborators in my study recognized the value of being involved with other women in collective kitchens. Magenta, for example, describing the reasons women had for attending collective kitchens, said:

> "They go to collective kitchens for the same reasons I do: for the company, for the community, for the communication. To be entertained a few hours in something of benefit." (Fernandez, 1996).

Adelaida, another collaborator, referred to her feelings in meeting other women in the following manner:

> "Having met those people (women)...to be so close with them and to know their way of thinking...Talking with them...(it was rewarding)." (Fernandez, 1996).

Assumed, is the connection between breaking individual isolation through participation and building a sense of community among participants. The general idea I encountered during my study is that women participating in collective kitchens develop, while working with other women, communitarian values that they later extend to the greater community; that is, those values grow beyond collective kitchens. Not everybody in my study understood collective kitchens as the starting point for the development of communitarian values, or of a sense of community. Marita argued that collective kitchens do not build community because they are not communities themselves. She said:

> "No, there each person cooked and then left. There was no community, nothing happened after. That is Thursday you cooked and you wouldn't see anybody until next Thursday. The people...that wasn't a community!" (Fernandez, 1996).

She also identified ambivalent feelings within Casa Celeste (the agency sponsoring collective kitchens) regarding community development in the area where they were geographically located. She understood collective kitchens as working for the benefit of the greater geographical community only in terms of ensuring the community members who were in greater need and helping them. She said:

> "The collective kitchen is for the community, but for the people who really need from the community. That is the role that Casa Celeste should play...To talk with people who don't have...And that, Casa Celeste has never done. It has never done it. They have never tried...The community for Casa Celeste, I believe, has not been an important part of their work...Vague (their approach). Not with interest so the community (truly) appears. Better said, or that the community moves forward. Do you see? Because the coordinators, for instance, think about receiving their money and that's it!..." (Fernandez, 1996, p. 88).

Thus, collective kitchens may fail to become communities that would contribute to extend, beyond and to the greater geographical community, in order to facilitate community development. Furthermore, there are risks in encouraging collective kitchens that would act as starting points for the development of the larger community. Collective kitchens must develop ownership if they are to become the seeds of greater and larger projects. Development of ownership within collective kitchens has potential for upsetting the status quo. Thus, at the same time that increased participation is sought, fear of such participation also emerges. Groups with ownership are not groups where participants' number are predetermined, were very limited decision-making occurs, where meeting frequency and schedules are more or less pre-arranged, or groups were little connection between them that limits their networking abilities. In fact, with the exception of groups belonging to the Coalition of Collective Kitchens of Quebec little networking occurs between collective kitchens.

In summary, participation within collective kitchens is generally limited to task oriented activities. Women cook together, and their interaction may be rewarding and valuable, but, participation beyond food preparation is not systematically encouraged nor are mechanisms in place to facilitate it. The quality of participation within collective kitchens is another problematic area which has only been recently addressed by the Coalition of Collective Kitchens of Quebec (1995) but which has been assumed to be non-problematic.

Developing cooperation/solidarity among low income women

The development of cooperation is assumed and it is related to the roots of collective kitchens as community development alternatives. It is, however, a little explored area where expectations, made explicit in the Collective Kitchens Handbook (1992), may or may not be met. Cooperative living is discussed in the video Stir It Up (NFB, 1994) as valuable. Within brochures printed by the National Film Board advertising Stir It Up, collective kitchens are described as follows :

> "Stir It Up is a documentary about collective kitchens, a grassroots movement that nourishes the body and the spirit. It is a story of dignity in hard times and a testament to the possibilities of cooperative living." (Fernandez, 1996).

Collaborators in my study were concerned, however, about the failure of some collective kitchens to encourage both cooperation and solidarity. According to Marita in many of the groups conflict and competition for resources were prevalent. She argued that conflict was generally rooted in resource competition; it was, therefore, more likely to occur when participants' needs were salient. She said:

> "Yes, there was much conflict because some wanted more and the others didn't want less...I accompanied them to buy and we had to buy all this. Sometimes the money was not enough or the food bought was limited. Then we made less food and we had conflicts....I would be silent. To me the need wasn't that big. But to other people, yes! And that people who had strong need wanted more. Well, I was happy with whatever they gave me, because there were only ten dollars that I put, it wasn't much. But, how can I say it, to people with strong need....they wanted more..." (Fernandez, 1996).

Marita discussed the context in which collective kitchens exist as one that does not favour cooperation but competition. She perceived some disadvantages for individuals who, like herself, assumed a cooperative stance when societal values encouraged competition. Those who cooperated while living in a competitive society could be taken advantage of. Cooperation required reciprocity, in her view. She said:

> "Yes (I have helped). But if I needed (help); If I wished to go ask somebody else, another neighbour...They were not going to give me. First, because they didn't know me and then...why were they going to give me? Yes, here who has, has, and who doesn't have...too bad." (Fernandez, 1996).

Furthermore, Marita noted that, within such context and because of growing poverty, people may no longer be interested in cooperating. Increased need may encourage those who would otherwise help to stop their volunteer involvement and work only for money. Marita said the following:

> "What is happening also now is that people doesn't want to cooperate. People want to receive but they do not want to cooperate...Right now that of volunteer work is finished. Now there is a great need for money and, I think, we all have a right to work and being paid." (Fernandez, 1996).

She discussed also the importance of personal experience in favouring a cooperative perspective. Shame, she felt, is associated with need and she felt shameful asking for help. She said:

> "...we (Latin Americans) have passed more need, I think. I have also known here (in Canada) what is to need...Here you know people, but...I would feel ashamed to go and ask...You are not going to ask a Canadian, no. They are not going to give you and...If they do not have either! They are going to tell you that they do not have. But in your country, your family, your aunt, all of them are there helping you. But here, no. Here they close you their door. No...Yes, it is difficult. And because you do not have, you have to go to welfare to beg. If they do not help you, where?" (Fernandez, 1996).

Marita's views highlight the importance of reciprocity, or acceptable retribution, in encouraging cooperation in human relations and in everyday life. Similarly, collective kitchens require mutual respect and understanding, as well as reciprocity, to favour the development of cooperation.

Maria, another collaborator, discussed the need to move beyond cooperation and encourage the development of solidarity within collective kitchens. Solidarity is a more political form of cooperation that develops, in her view, through increased consciousness. Women participating in collective kitchens must understand the reasons behind their coming together to cook in collective kitchens if they are to cooperate with each other in meaningful ways. In her view community work could be done more effectively by volunteers, people who wished to better their condition and their community, geographical, of origin, or of interest. However, the essential ingredient was the development of consciousness. She said:

> "The community needs of people who are ready to work for the community without the need to receive payment...People have to participate, need to participate...Now to me, what was really important was to develop consciousness in the people, the why. Precisely the why of collective kitchens. Because it was not only about being together there "comadreando" happy and all that. Because it is a good moment, very nice. Because we help each other and all that, but, the why of collective kitchens. Why did we need of that?...And there are many things, for instance that solidarity with one another, that sensibility of being able to see the need of others, of trying to help each other. That is what we have in Latin America, that of helping each other, not that egoism that this is mine and only mine, but to share with everyone. And many problems could have been solved...." (Fernandez, 1996).

In summary, when reflection on both cooperation and competition occurs it becomes evident that reciprocity is crucial to the development of cooperation. Reciprocity, or some form of acceptable retribution, is implied in cooperative human relations. Cooperation and competition seem to be similarly valued, but, competition comes to dominate when reciprocity does not occur. Then, solidarity development may be relevant. Solidarity, as described by Maria, is connected to consciousness development or increased awareness about issues that are common to low income women participating in collective kitchens. Solidarity is more political than cooperation; it implies common views, understandings and goals and requires reflection on the causes that bring low income women to cook together in collective kitchens. Solidarity can also be built around the benefits for low income women in organizing themselves in collective kitchens to achieve a degree of food security and to empower themselves.

In conclusion

Program oriented collective kitchens may be the dominant format of collective kitchens available and favour a technical focus that limits participants' ownership development and empowerment. Opportunities for reflection and critical analysis must be ensured within collective kitchens; they need to define purpose, or the what, clarify process, or the how, and analyze the context in which they emerged as food security alternatives, or the why.

Reality, as experienced by low income women must be the departing point for collective kitchens that examine societal challenges, contradictions and dominant ideologies in relation to food security issues, poverty and gender. Issues of power and resource distribution need to be addressed within the context of collective kitchens, because poverty is not just "lack of money" but a social construction intimately related to inequality and oppression.

In general, collective kitchens must address food security as an issue affecting low income women, or the poor, and closely related to non-egalitarian power and resource distribution in society. Societal and structural challenges can be addressed from a critical perspective that departs from participants' experiences about food insecurity, poverty and gender. When the challenges encountered, however, are treated as individual challenges rather than as individual experiences of societal issues with structural dimensions, collective kitchens contribute to stigmatize low income women and blame them for their poverty.

Participation can be favoured by collective kitchens; but, the quality of such participation is also relevant. To be meaningful, participation cannot be limited to tasks like food preparation. Ownership must develop and decision making must transcend selection of recipes. Cooperation develops best when solidarity among participating women already exists. Solidarity is political and implies the development of participants' awareness and consciousness about the challenges they collectively face within their groups in increasing their food security.

When collective kitchens fail to encourage discussion about participants' feelings or to provide opportunities for critical reflection and analysis, they favour a technical approach that is task oriented and focuses on cooking to economize. Such approach seriously limits participants' opportunities for empowerment because authenticity is not encouraged and process and analysis aspects are neglected. Detached from personal experiences and feelings, separated from historicity, context and critical reflection, collective kitchens become programs with little flexibility and fail to encourage the basis of any empowerment process; that is, authenticity, reflection and action.

A holistic understanding of collective kitchens that includes departing from personal experience and analysis of critical issues in relation to the groups as food security alternatives, can encourage solidarity, more meaningful participation of low income women and networking among collective kitchens for the formation of a grassroots movement of low income women that exercises political muscle to empowerment themselves in defining food security alternatives and in acting.

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Identities In/Formation: Surfacing the Subjugated Knowledges of Queer Youth

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A Litany for Survival

and when we speak we are afraid
our words will not be heard
nor welcomed
but when we are silent
we are still afraid

So it is better to speak
remembering
we were never meant to survive
(Lorde 1978, 31-32)

The research for my Ph. D. dissertation extends earlier work in which I engaged questions about the impact of learning environments on the identities of individual learners. In this work I look at learning environments in Alberta schools for students who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, transsexual, queer, or Two-Spirit[1]. Because of space constraints of this document, I refer to these identities as "queer[2]."

A recent Alberta Education mission statement promises, "the best possible education for all Alberta students." The document, *Vision for the Nineties...A Plan of Action,* from which this mission statement is taken, goes on to say that:

> Excellence for all students is what the vision is all about. It's a vision for education that focuses on goals, results, and accountability. The vision provides an agenda for where we need to focus our efforts to prepare all our young people today and for the future. (*Vision for the Nineties* 1991, 2)

An assessment of whether Alberta Education is meeting its vision must ascertain whether education in Alberta is accountable to all Alberta students or whether some, by virtue of their sexual identity, remain outsiders in an educational system that maintains an "absolutely sanctioned public silence" (Delany 1988, 175) about homosexuality. Preliminary research has indicated that queer youth are not mentioned in any Alberta Government or Alberta Teacher's Association documents.

My dissertation research includes a document analysis of the following documents to ascertain the extent to which they address education of lesbian and gay youth: i) policy documents from Alberta Education, Alberta School Boards, and the Alberta Teachers' Association; ii) curriculum materials for health and social studies from Alberta Education; and iii) health and social studies curricular materials used for the preparation of elementary and secondary teachers at the Universities of Alberta, Calgary, and Lethbridge. Each of these documents is to be examined for representations of 'the student' to assess what identity characteristics students must assume to be included in the goal of education for all. I intend to read these documents in relation to other Government of Alberta documents and initiatives including the Alberta Human Rights Protection Act (that does not include sexual orientation as a protected category) as well as commentary and challenges to these documents and initiatives within popular, academic, and alternative discourses.

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[1] See Sedgwick's discussion in *Epistemology of the Closet* about the limitations of labelling people by virtue of "same-sex object choice".

[2] The right to name oneself resides with the individual. A recent dialogue with a colleague in which he accused me of forcing him to use words like queer when he wanted to think of us all as "just humans" flags the way in which naming is important. His desire to name erases important differences. I wish to highlight the differential way in which I get to be in the world compared to him. While queer is contentious within queer communities, it is **not** up for debate by those who get to be "just humans" and who also get to **not** notice the ways in which discourses effect privileges upon "just humans". Privileging effects are materialized effects and **not** just words.

Equally important, I will undertake ethnographic interviews with 'queer' youth who are currently in Alberta public schools in order to represent how they understand their experiences in schools. In particular, I am interested in understanding effects on the education of 'queer' youth of contradictory discourses and practices, some of which claim to want them, as students, to excel and others which want to deny them basic human rights.

Upon completion of my ethnographic interviews and analysis, it should be possible to return to documents from Alberta Education to assess the goal of preparing all Alberta youth now and for the future and to ask, since "[t]here are kids in every classroom...who are going to grow up to be gay,...[whether i]t is irresponsible of the school not to provide information to make their path easier than it was for kids who are adults today" (Chasnoff 1996). Research on 'queers' in schools has been undertaken in other parts of Canada but to date there has been no work in Alberta. My choice to stay and do my Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Alberta is shaped by the need for work in this area of Alberta education. As well, I have the opportunity of working with Drs. Marilyn Assheton-Smith and Peggy Wilson, both of whom have encouraged me to take on research that, for a range of reasons, no other researcher in this province has examined. My contribution to the discipline of educational policy and practice is both urgent and original. My intention is to take up the work of education researchers and scholars such as Blye Frank (1994) and Didi Khayatt (1994) who have looked at 'queers' in schools in other parts of Canada for possible applicability to Alberta. Unlike most other provinces in Canada, differences in Alberta are related to a lack of human rights protection for gays and lesbians.

As the Theory Turns

My work is located in what might be called the political economy of the body (Foucault 1979). I examine power relations implicated in regulation of subjectivities, and in particular subjectivities of those cast as Other in discourses of sex and sexuality (see Foucault 1979; Halperin 1995). This requires an examination of the structure of heterosexuality as an effect of discourses and practices such as psychiatry, medicine, the law, and education. Recently in its election coverage, the Edmonton *Journal* reported Hermina Dykshoorn of Alberta Federation of Women United for the Families (AFWUF) as saying that "the natural family" needs protection from the onslaught of homosexual activism. Apparently Dyskshoorn does not see herself as a heterosexual activist, nor that homosexual (her term) families are an endangered species requiring protection from the onslaught of heterosexual interest groups. Discourses such as those spun out by Dykshoorn normalize heterosexuality with the effect that those not normalized as heterosexual are produced as deviant, sick, or abnormal. This is in contrast to the stories told in subjugated discursive spaces: of alterity as fabulous, happy, a delightful spectacle, a performance, or of the incommensurability of difference, of subalterns speaking, indeed shouting into spaces of incredulity and, as well, of despair and even of suicide (see de Beauvoir 1974; Butler 1994; Spivak 1988; Fuss 1991).

Michael Warner has used the term 'heteronormativity' to refer to processes of sexual normalization as (Warner 1993). As I work my way through discourse and practices in Alberta education however, I am likely not to find references to 'normalization', 'heteronormativity', or likely even 'heterosexuality', and certainly no references to 'gay', 'lesbian', 'transgendered' or 'queer'. I have uncovered the word 'gay', once only, in reference to AIDS in a sex education policy statement. I am not, however, as interested in what has been written or said as I am in what is not written, the between the lines, what Sedgwick calls the "epistemology of the closet" (1990). What this requires is a charting of the "relations of the known and the unknown" (Sedgwick 1990, 3), with an emphasis on the unknown.

One of the most insidious aspects of heteronormativity is that while "social theory as a quasi-institution for the past century has returned continually to the question of sexuality," it has done so "with an endless capacity to marginalize queer sexuality in its descriptions of the social world"

(Warner 1993, ix). Educational policy and practice mirrors social theory and social theory mirrors heteronormativity.

Theory Mis/Fits and the Field

Theory exposing heteronormativity provides a framework in which to investigate effects of discourses about sex and sexuality. Exploring effects, in turn, allows for interesting disruptions of theory. In my preliminary investigations in the field I have been reminded of issues in the politics of naming and the politics of "choice." Many of the people to whom I have spoken wish to identify in highly specific ways. These persons view this identification as a politics not meant to exclude, but one which allows them to claim a place for themselves outside 'the normal'. This self naming by those who have been excluded challenges the charge of exclusivity levelled at identity politics. Many to whom I have spoken also ground their 'queerness' in genetics rather than in choice or social construction. The collision of my own adherence to social constructionism with that of those who see themselves forged in a naturalness of a genetic moment is one which will continue to trouble my own securities.

One of my greatest uncertainties was about finding 'queer' youth who would be willing to talk to me. I need not have been so concerned. Daily I am contacted by young people or their representatives who have serious stories to tell about their experiences in Alberta schools. As I find that my theory mis/fits the field I am exploring I am more convinced that ethnography will help me explore questions about subjectivity in formation; that is, subjectivity and identity as fluid and as process. Asking queer youth to voice their own experiences is to ask them to be the subjects of their own subjectivity. Becoming a subject who is the expert about oneself instead of the object of social science discourse (scientia sexualis in Foucault's words) is an agentic participation toward understanding the oppositional social identity of 'queerness' in Alberta. Becoming a subject is a movement against the ways in which social identity is deranged (Corrigan 1987, 21) in the validation of heterosexist and homophobic values and of combatting "heterosexual ideology, in combination with a potent ideology about gender and identity in maturation" which "bears down in the heaviest and often deadliest way on those with the least resources to combat it: queer children and teens" (Warner 1994, xvi).

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A Sense of Place:
Legitimizing Social Categories through Environmental Discourse

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Introduction

Over the past two decades there has been renewed interest within many academic disciplines, as well as within environmental circles, in the concept of place as a focus of enduring sentimental attachment and as a source of sensual and emotional meaning. Recently, fostering a sense of place has become the focus of many environmental educators who concern themselves with the relationship between humans and the natural world and the possibilities for changing these relationships. While the link between social and physical space has long been of interest in many disciplines, more often than not these investigations of place have treated it as a passive backdrop upon or within which human activity occurs. The renewed interest in place makes the case for place as a subject, that is as a "centre of meaning, intentions or felt values" (Pred, 1983: 49).

A strong case can certainly be made for environmental education that proposes alternative conceptualizations of place and incorporates the natural world as powerful actor in human history. Few people would disagree that continued development of western society as if this planet has no limits or that natural events do not have real consequences for humans is misguided in many ways. Yet, in reconstructing the narratives of the history of human society to incorporate the land as a major character, we cannot forget that as story tellers speaking on behalf of nature we are moral actors and political agents. If our goal is to broaden the context of stories of human actions so as to increase attention to nature and the places of people, we cannot forget that the context of the story also includes historically and culturally specific interactions, relationships and ways of knowing.

Sense of place discourse offers a context for certain forms of environmental activism, pedagogy and epistemology that are worthy of some attention. Yet, in its present manifestations, environmental educators frequently fail to situate this nature narrative within a broader social and historical context. In this piece, my attempt is to explore some of the contributions to environmental education offered by sense of place discourse, as well as make the case for an extension of the concept of embodiment so central in discourse about place attachment.

Embodied Places

As a child I lived in Alberta and Saskatchewan, much of that time spent on a farm that straddled the shores of the Carrot River in east central Saskatchewan. Years later, while living in southern Ontario for six years without the means to return to the prairies for even a short visit, I happened upon a small collection of essays within a volume entitled *The Wheatgrass Mechanism - Science and Imagination in the Western Canadian Landscape* (1990). Written by Don Gayton, these essays examine the industrialization and wonderment of the often overlooked Western Canadian grasslands. From the moment I picked up the book, I melted into the evocative prose of this ecologist's detailed descriptions of the uptake of carbon dioxide by grass, the historical migration routes of bison across the prairies, and the symbiotic relationships central to rangeland management. Gayton's prairie essays resonated within me reminding me of hot July afternoons spent lying amongst the cool shade of green grain, and windy days spent precariously hanging on to the side of an old John Deere tractor carefully watching the baler, all the while enveloped in the sweet aroma of freshly cut alfalfa. In his accounts of spectral antelope held in brief and naked moments between curiosity and flight, glacial meltwater channels that dug deeply into the prairie, and the layers of meaning tucked in between sand lines, and the arch of dogwoods and willows, I was returned to a sense of prairie place in my mind.

The term sense of place refers to a geographically bounded local site that acts as a centre of personal meaning or identity and a source of motivation. According to many who study the topic of place, consciousness of one's surroundings is a fundamental human characteristic (Allen, B., 1990; Orr, D., 1994; Tuan, 1974). From an environmental perspective, places shape individuals, offering a text that instructs them on both the intricacies of the natural world and how to relate to the world at large.

In his more recent book, *Landscapes of the Interior - Re-Explorations of Nature and the Human Spirit (1996)*, Gayton makes the case for plunging deeply into a landscape in order that new relationships with the earth can be forged, relationships that are influenced by the flows of nature rather than only by the numbers on horizontal lines of budgetary ledgers. He asks us to allow ourselves the possibility of a subtle information transfer with nature in which we gather an inkling of "our place in nature, and nature's place in us" (1996: 56). Traditional farmer and writer Wendell Berry (1990) refers to this transfer as approaching the natural world "in the manner of a "conversationalist," a conversation dependent upon "consulting the genius of the place." According to Berry, the result of such a discourse would be that "The use of a place would necessarily change, and the response of the place to that use would necessarily change the user" (1990:209). Farmer and writer Gene Lodgson echoes Berry's appraisal of place, arguing that it is in knowing a place that one comes to understand the land and how to work it well. Commenting with admiration on the success of a neighbour and friend, he writes:

> I stare at him in great wonderment. Although we have been close for many years both by reason of kinship and friendship, or perhaps because of that, I have never been able to convey to him the uniqueness and significance I see in the depth of his knowledge about his farm. It is something he takes for granted, as if everyone knows their places as well as he knows his. I do not know how to tell him that he is the last member of an ancient tribe - the genuine traditional farmers who committed themselves lovingly to a piece of land and husbanded it from generation to generation, carrying in their memories a lifetime of their own experiences and that of their fathers and grandfathers on that land. Dave's crops are almost always just a little better

> than the others in the neighborhood, because he knows his place (1994: 103-104).

Lodgson's description of his farmer friend is a personal reflection on the good work of a respected farmer who understands the subtle intricacies of a place. The healthy landscape is testimony to human creativity and potential and a point of reference that feeds human vitality, stabilizing and enriching our lives.

Lodgson and many others who are concerned about the fate of the natural world also argue that as well as being crucial in the development of environmental stewardship, a sense of place is central to a state of well-being and self-awareness. Writer and traveler David Clarke Burks echoes many of Lodgson's conclusions about the value of knowing a place. In Burks' words:

> ...we are in the fullest sense a biological species and will find no ultimate meaning apart from the other life on this planet...Gary Nabben, through his well crafted narrative, explains what it means to inhabit indigenous relationships with place. It is more than understanding that all life is connected: it is acting in that awareness, doing the work of connection, subordinating human will to the will of place. [Quoting Gary Snyder, Burks continues]...'To know the spirit of a place is to realize that you are a part of a part and that the whole is made of parts, each of which is whole. You start with the part you are whole in.' The work of preserving and restoring the wildlands and wilderness is contingent on humans learning to live appropriately in place (1994: 10-11).

The narrative constructed here is of humans as 'place-centric' creatures who are fundamentally shaped by the sights, sounds and smells of the places where they grow up. The belief is that our preferences, attitudes and behaviours are largely determined by our experiences of place. According to environmental educator David Orr, if the places we grow up in are ugly and violent, "the behaviour of many raised in them will also be ugly and violent. Children raised in ecologically barren settings, however affluent, are deprived of the sensory stimuli and the kind of imaginative experience that can only come from biological richness" (Orr, D., 1994: 161).

Narrative of place like Orr's and Lodgson's can also be read as eulogies for the death of custodians of place knowledge. The subtext of much of the current environmental discourse on place emphasizes how western industrialization and electronic communication media have collapsed time and space (Meyorwitz, J., 1985), thereby making place largely invisible and inaccessible to us (Berry, W., 1983, 1990; Orr, D., 1994). In other words, the evolution of media and industrialization has reorganized our social settings and reduced our interactions with the natural world. As a consequence, the link between "landscape and mindscape," or the human social world and the physical natural world has been weakened significantly. In the midst of globalization and disconnection from the natural environment, many people have become what David Orr sees as "de-placed" people, "mental refugees, homeless where ever we are" (Orr, 1994, p.163).

The idea of people learning to love and be moved by a particular tract of land, a majestic forest, or a meandering stream is compelling to say the least. Narratives about landscapes and people being morphologically connected or constructed from the same source and constituting some primal essence of each other are not unique to environmentalists, but have long and celebrated histories amongst many of our most celebrated artists and writers. This is the stuff of great novels like Norman Maclean's *A River Runs Through It*, the moving poetry about the wild by Gary Snyder and the vibrant paintings of the Canadian Shield by the Group of Seven. In a nation in which there has been considerable discussion recently about what constitutes the national culture, and what is it that we share as citizens of a country as vast and diversified as Canada, time and again people speak of the land as connecting us, the land as reflecting and be reflected in us. This familiar tale speaks to the distinctiveness and providentially blessed character of the culture as a whole as revealed through a topographic inventory (Schama, S., 1991).

Hence, place is not only an internal construct, but a blueprint for social action. According to environmentalists like Orr, Berry and Daniel Kemmis the concept of place needs to be reintroduced into and given priority in our educational, economic and political thinking. Taking place seriously would mean developing place-centred politics, economies and education. It would mean rebuilding the notions of identity, citizenship and education on principles of being rooted in and engaged in local communities. According to Daniel Kemmis, "If in fact there is a connection between the places we inhabit and the political culture which our inhabiting of them produces, them perhaps it makes sense to begin with the place, with a sense of what it is, and then to try and imagine a way of being public which would fit the place" (1990:40).

Nurturing wonder, respect and concern for the specificities of the natural world is certainly one of the greatest gifts environmental educators can offer their audiences and students. Creating openings in our discourse for discussion and testimonies to the beauty, inspiration, experiences and significance of place is important work. According to educator Lauren Resnick, "Evidence is beginning to accumulate that traditional schooling's focus on individual, isolated activity, on symbols correctly manipulated but divorced from experience, and on decontextualized skills may be partly responsible for our school's difficulty in teaching processes of thinking and knowledge construction (as quoted in Knapp, 1993: 1). Restoring the idea of place in our minds through recounting experiences of place is according to David Orr, a necessary first step to the inversion of purposes that will be required to seriously challenge "long held dogmas about growth, capital mobility, the global economy, the nature of wealth and the wealth of nature" (164). As environmentalists point out, neglect of the specificities and fragilities of local landscapes is certainly contributing to the scourges we inflict upon our natural landscapes.

Yet, casting a sense of attachment to place as an arbiter of what is correct, authentic and normal, is not only highly problematic, but exclusionary. Extended periods of time spent in the natural world can be as oppressive for some as it can be a source of healing, liberation and creativity for others. All of us have unique stories to tell of our individual relationship with nature, some of them positive and others not so. In my own case, while I look fondly back on my experiences growing up on a farm in Saskatchewan, my older brothers speak of that time as joyless, restrictive and isolating. Intimate experience and knowledge of that place was not for them a source of inspiration but rather chains of judgment and toil. One might wonder if members of those cultural groups who have served as slaves picking cotton in the American south or endangered their lives to dynamite tunnels through the Canadian Rockies in order to lay down a national railway, wouldn't similarly view what many other consider the landscapes of inspiration as reminders of oppression.

Perhaps we should consider that the temporal, spatial and personal effects of global markets, politics and technologies on a sense of place are not equally felt by all communities and all individuals. As Sharon Zukin points out, "Advanced industrial societies like the United States [and Canada] are a 'quasi-continuum" of places, more or less integrated into the global economy, that face different degrees of gains and loss (1991: 253). To understand a sense of place perhaps should not be limited to knowledge of the cultural and natural history of a place, but also include examination of the varieties of structural and cultural transformations that arise from its ties to both the global and local economy and culture. As Allen Pred argues,

> if sense of place is not to become simply another reified category, referring to emanations of thought or passive reflections existing purely on their own, it should be reinterpreted in terms of the time-space specific everyday practices by which it becomes part of biography along with other elements of consciousness development and socialization in terms of the social and economic structural properties that are expressed through, and reproduced by, those very same practices (1983:51)

The narratives constructed by place advocates is of autonomous minds freely interpreting and experiencing the world, and of attachments, memories and meanings arising out of independent actions unconstrained by any social or cultural context. In other words, sense of place is largely a "free-floating phenomenon, in no way influenced either by historically specific power relationships that enable some to impose upon others their view of the natural and acceptable, or by social and economic constraints on action and thereby thought" (Pred, p. 50).

We also share collective stories of living in a particular historical and cultural time. While environmental writers concerned with sense of place sometimes make reference to society and social position, often social context is treated as only a backdrop to individual experience. While sense of place discourse reminds us of our position as individuals in relation to natural world, we must remember that our embodiment in the natural world is always mediated not only by our biology, and our connections to landscapes but also by our location as humans living in certain historical and cultural times. As William Cronon (1992) explains, "humans acts occur within a network of relationships, processes and systems that are as ecological as they are cultural" (p. 1349). The stories told by Orr, Burks, Berry and others of the significance of place likely reveal as much about the importance of the natural world to these men, as it does the similarities of their social backgrounds. Pred elaborates:

> An individual's sense of place cannot come into being in its own, divorced from her development of consciousness and ideology in general, or unaffected by her predispositions deeply and complexly embedded in her previous history of language acquisition, and other forms of core absorption

> and perceptual conditioning...sense of place needs to be viewed anew, through the integrated prism of time-geography and the theory of structuration, as but another by-product of the continuous dialectical becoming of individual and society, of practice and structure, in historically specific situations... and not somehow disembodied (as the literature frequently makes it seem (50-51).

In recognizing the time-space dimensions of our perceptions of natural spaces translates into an awareness of the dynamic nature and malleability of sense of place. The work of cultural geographers and anthropologists demonstrates that not all cultures, historically and presently, interpret the natural world in the same way. For example, work of the late geographer David Sopher on perceptions of landscapes in India revealed a largely indifferent attitude of this nation to the particularities of place (1987). While Sopher discovered some enduring cultural differences in landscapes perceptions between northern and southern India, he also found time and again that landscape elements often were of negligible importance in the art, religion and social customs of India.

The case being made is not to deny the importance of nature as a co-author of our environmental stories. Rather, in our discourse and our teaching we need to extend the parameters of the ways in which our experiences of place are understood to be influenced, to include plants, animals, soils, waters and climate, but also, gender, class, race and sexual orientation. Our embodiment in the world is multi-layered and each of these layers matters because they influence the nature of our interactions with our social and natural environment (Hayles, N.K., 1995). Place attachment reminds us that while nature has no voice, we cannot divorce ourselves completely from all ties to the natural world. But we must also recognize that our activities and participation in the world at large are mediated by the complex intertwining of our roots to many factors, only one of which is a sense of place.

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The Post Secondary Institution Of The Future:
A Virtual Reality

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INTRODUCTION

Question: What is virtual reality? What is it and what does it mean to education?

Answer: A computer-generated environment that, to the person experiencing it, closely resembles reality. It is not real in fact but it is real in effect.

I invite you to join me on a journey into the future. I ask you to walk with me down a path that shows where we've been, where we are now and then I will ask you to participate in a visioning exercise about where we are heading in virtual post secondary education.

THE JOURNEY

I will show you the journey made by society as it transitioned through the ages from the Craft Era to the Virtual Reality Era. I chose the craft era as a starting point because it is from this time forward that technology began-to influence our ways of acquiring knowledge and skills in a dramatic and time-sensitive manner.

(The ERA overhead)

PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE BUSINESS AND EDUCATION TRENDS

ERA	BUSINESS	EDUCATION
CRAFT AGE characterized by: people working autonomously		
INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION characterized by: people working on assembly lines, within a hierarchy of management		
INFORMATION REVOLUTION characterized by: people working in teams to produce information		
POST-MODERN ERA characterized by: a core of business functions, with contractors brought in as needed on projects		
VIRTUAL REALITY characterized by: collaborations formed on a temporary basis, electronically connected and integrated. The collaborators contribute their core competencies to the undertaking, but do not transfer them. They are formed with loose ties by virtue of a highly flexible network infrastructure, rather than extensive legal and financial investments.		

Now look at how we have interacted with others in a business analogy.

(Add the Business overlay)

How would you draw the "Education" analogy? Where is post-secondary education as it relates to how individuals acquire their knowledge? What has changed as technology changes? As business and industry change, what is the need for post-secondary institutions to change? Are post-secondary institutions meeting the need for change?

Peter Emberley wrote a book called *Zero Tolerance* in which he outlines the pressure on post-secondary institutions brought about by the need for change. This need has been expressed through competition for student and government dollars. Competition between institutions or businesses such as Microsoft has occurred because the customer (student, government and public) is not convinced that the once-revered university is providing what they need for knowledge and skills in a way they need to obtain it.

The challenge is not "should we change" or "why to change" but "what to change to".

THE FUTURE

We have examined where we have been. Can you help me vision what the future of education will be in its virtual setting?

For the purpose of this discussion I suggest that we leap the boundaries of logistics and look only at the end vision.

Look into the future. How can we make post-secondary education a virtual experience?

The student will be...

The professor will be...

The facility will be...

The tools of communication will be...

The measurement of learning will be...

SUMMARY

A sharing of insights tells us this is what the market perceives post-secondary institutions of the future will be.

This exercise has been the first of many data gathering exercises to find out what various markets perceive post-secondary institutions will move toward. The timing of the move will depend on the demand and the competition to meet the demand.

Personal Construct Psychology And Teacher Education: From Pedagogy Past To Teacher Beliefs In Practice

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Findings reported in this paper are from a larger study of ten pre-service teachers who were enrolled in the same physical education teacher preparation course. The findings reported in this paper will focus upon one of the pre-service teachers, Grant.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study was to describe how pre-service teachers evolve their personal beliefs and values about teaching after their initial experience of teaching in schools. The research in this study addressed the The purpose of the study was to describe how pre-service teachers evolve their personal beliefs and values about teaching after their initial experience of teaching in schools. The research in this study addressed the following question: given the findings of a study of pre-service teachers' personal constructs for teaching, how does one pre-service teachers, in his final year of a teacher preparation program, articulate his sense of becoming a teacher? In other words, how did Grant learn, and know he had learned, how to teach? In this way insights were gained on how teacher thinking evolved for one pre-service teacher.

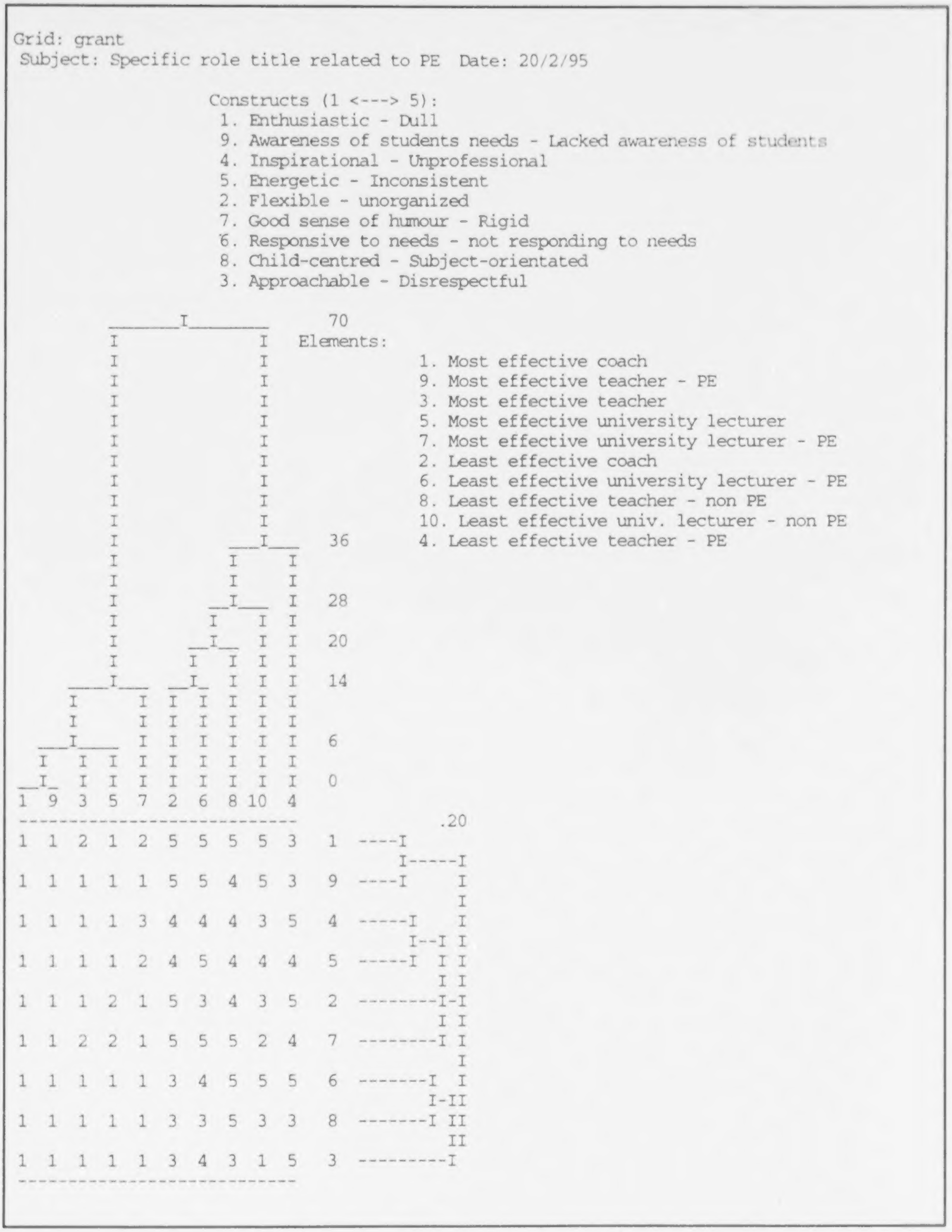
PEDAGOGY FROM PAST FOR UNDERSTANDING PERSONAL MEANING MAKING IN TEACHING

The method used to research pre-service teachers beliefs about teaching was a repertory grid analysis from George Kelly's (1955) personal construct psychology. Personal construct psychology (PCP) is a procedure used in psycho-therapy offering a way of becoming aware of the biography that structures and guides a person's subjective judgments on a reality of teaching. As such, personal construct psychology is a theory that is located in the constructivist tradition of cognitive sciences.

PCP has been widely used in teacher education as a means of accessing pre-service teachers implicit beliefs about teaching (Chard, 1988; Diamond, 1985a; Diamond, 1985b; Diamond, 1991; McQualter, 1985: Pope & Keen, 1981). And in teacher thinking research PCP has been identified as a way of examining teacher beliefs about teaching (Clandinin & Connelly, 1987). In PCP Kelly (1955) proposed a theory called constructive alternativism which states that reality is subject to many alternative constructions. Kelly's PCP allows a person to probe the personal meaning of a phenomena. Such a probing reveals the multiple meanings people can share of the same phenomenon, and the change in meaning the same person can have on the same phenomenon over a period of time.

The study reported in this paper probed the meaning of effective teaching in physical education. In a post-structuralist sense Kelly's personal construct theory supports a process that denies the "transcendental signifier" that fixes relational symbols in the text from outside the text. As Leader and Groves (1995) write about Lacanian post-structural analysis of language, a meaning of a word is not grounded outside of a person, it is continuously defined and re-defined by the person throughout his or her life. Such an understanding of meaning allows a person to be open to alternative constructions of experiences that allow "new" avenues to be explored. PCP allows a prospective teacher to examine the past pedagogy of teachers that help to define his or her meaning for effective teaching.

To explore "new" meaning a repertory grid from PCP was used. As shown in Figure 1, the grid creates a basic number pattern of ordinal ratings of elements on dichotomous constructs. The elements come from a pool of elements that can be construed by a participant. The elements are types of things, actions or people with whom the participant is familiar. The constructs are bipolar descriptors, usually produced by a participant, to rate each of the elements they have selected. The elements used in this study were teacher roles that had been experienced by all the pre-service teachers during their school days and during their experiences at the university.



```
Grid: grant
 Subject: Specific role title related to PE  Date: 20/2/95

                    Constructs (1 <---> 5):
                     1. Enthusiastic - Dull
                     9. Awareness of students needs - Lacked awareness of students
                     4. Inspirational - Unprofessional
                     5. Energetic - Inconsistent
                     2. Flexible - unorganized
                     7. Good sense of humour - Rigid
                     6. Responsive to needs - not responding to needs
                     8. Child-centred - Subject-orientated
                     3. Approachable - Disrespectful

          _______I________      70
          I              I   Elements:
          I              I               1. Most effective coach
          I              I               9. Most effective teacher - PE
          I              I               3. Most effective teacher
          I              I               5. Most effective university lecturer
          I              I               7. Most effective university lecturer - PE
          I              I               2. Least effective coach
          I              I               6. Least effective university lecturer - PE
          I              I               8. Least effective teacher - non PE
          I              I               10. Least effective univ. lecturer - non PE
          I           ___I___   36       4. Least effective teacher - PE
          I           I     I
          I           I     I
          I         __I___  I   28
          I         I    I  I
          I       __I__  I  I   20
          I       I   I  I  I
      ____I___  __I_  I  I  I   14
      I      I  I  I  I  I  I
      I      I  I  I  I  I  I
   ___I____  I  I  I  I  I  I   6
   I   I  I  I  I  I  I  I  I
 __I_  I  I  I  I  I  I  I  I   0
 1  9  3  5  7  2  6  8 10  4
 ----------------------------              .20
 1  1  2  1  2  5  5  5  5  3   1  ----I
                                       I-----I
 1  1  1  1  1  5  5  4  5  3   9  ----I     I
                                             I
 1  1  1  1  3  4  4  4  3  5   4  -----I    I
                                        I--I I
 1  1  1  1  2  4  5  4  4  4   5  -----I  I I
                                           I I
 1  1  1  2  1  5  3  4  3  5   2  --------I-I
                                           I I
 1  1  2  2  1  5  5  5  2  4   7  --------I I
                                             I
 1  1  1  1  1  3  4  5  5  5   6  -------I  I
                                          I-II
 1  1  1  1  1  3  3  5  3  3   8  -------I II
                                            II
 1  1  1  1  1  3  4  3  1  5   3  ---------I
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Figure 1 Grant's initial repertory grid

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RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA COLLECTION

In the study conversations were structured around a repertory grid on pre-service teachers' construing of effective and ineffective teachers from their past. Following the six week preparation course the pre-service teachers taught in a school-based four week field experience. On completion of this experience the pre-service students returned to the university for three weeks to complete course requirements. During this period pre-service teachers engaged in a second learning conversation with me which re-rated their initial repertory grids and constructed new repertory grids that included themselves and teachers from their field experience school. The purpose of this learning conversation was to explore how the pre-service teachers' beliefs and values about effective teachers had changed during their teaching experiences.

All conversations were transcribed with an average 10,000 words for each pre-service teacher. Data from the course were summarized for each pre-service teacher in personal case studies of 3000 to 6000 words. These case studies were given to available pre-service teachers in the following term. A further interview with me on their thoughts and concerns about their case studies resulted in "interview three" of the study. Transcripts from these interviews ranged from 2000-3000 words in length. Informally, several of the pre-service teachers met with me during the subsequent academic year to share teaching experiences that they felt revealed their articulated beliefs and values about teaching.

DATA ANALYSIS

Repertory grid data analysis

In this study the computer program GRIDTHINK (Chard, Miall & Hucklesby, 1987) was used to analyze each of the pre-service teacher's grids. Similar to Diamond's (1991, p. 24) repertory grid software, this program provided a two-way cluster analysis in each case in order to re-order the rows of constructs and the columns of elements so as to produce a grid in which there was the least variation between adjacent constructs and elements. This analysis was done in respect to the way the elements were ordered by the constructs. The relationships between elements and constructs were visualized as tree diagrams showing the highest relationship between clusters. Figure 1 shows such an analysis for Grant's initial repertory grid.

Conversation on the relationships between elements and constructs produced certain themes that the student-teachers referred to as a reference for the effectiveness of teachers. These themes became known as "thought objects" for teaching.

The metaphor in repertory grid conversations

Conversations with repertory grid generates a commonsense meaning rather than a technical meaning. Such a commonsense meaning, as Munby & Spafford (1987) found using repertory grids, is constructed with metaphorical meaning. Munby (1986) referring to Schön (1979) proposes the idea of generative metaphors that give a sense of how a person frames an experience in order to generate alternative courses of actions. In this way metaphorical content of teacher speech has promise for discerning the un-stated ways in which a teacher constructs a professional world, the imagery they use to construct their world of teaching. It can be concluded that generative metaphors offer a "new perspective, novel way to 'see'" (Munby, 1986, p. 199). Generative metaphors were used to give a sense of the metaphorical language used by pre-service teachers as a way of showing change in the way they framed the reality of teaching.

Realizing "thought objects" through stories from practice

As the conversations developed between me and the pre-service teachers we were able to share stories on teaching. The stories from teaching practice became self-affirming and representative of educational values being transformed into practice. As Diamond (1991) comments, "By learning to compose their own narratives, they [pre-service teachers] can chart their way through their present and towards their future stages of development as teachers" (p. 41).

The stories the pre-service teachers shared with me seemed to have come from situations where they had made a leap of faith whilst harboring personal doubts. Such doubts created a focusing tension, but the doubts let the pre-service teachers be open to the 'new', the unknown, the not yet possible. Such stories are not a result of a conscious plan, but result from beliefs held by the pre-service teachers that influence the situation in a way they feel is educationally 'right'.

FINDINGS

Grant's first interview

From the first interview it was established that the constructs in Table 1 associated to the themes of relating to students and generating 'energy' in the class. These became the "thought objects" of Grant's reflexive thinking about teaching.

Table 1

Constructs elicited by Grant and ordered by the GRIDTHINK program before the curriculum and instruction course

Order Construct Entered	Constructs Created by Grant[a]
1	Enthusiastic - Dull
9	Awareness of students needs - Lacked awareness of students
4	Inspirational - Unprofessional
5	Energetic - Inconsistent
2	Flexible - Unorganized
7	Good sense of humor - Rigid[b]
6	Responsive to needs - Not responding to needs
8	Child-centered - Subject-oriented
3	Approachable - Disrespectful

[a]The constructs are ordered based on their number patterns from ratings on the same element. Adjacent constructs have the least variation in number ratings. [b]Affler the field experience this construct had an orthogonal relationship with the other constructs for three of the effective and one of the ineffective teachers when analyzed in the grid.

Grant's first interview showed a physical, in contact, mobile sense of teaching which was probably connected to his six years of experience teaching karate, coaching hockey, and playing hockey as a child. When describing his effective teachers, Grant made many references to "push," "pull" and "proceed forward." These effective teachers were "moving" work along. As he said about his most effective non physical education teacher, "He was a generalist, he always kept you busy and he pushed you hard."

In his first interview Grant made many references to energy — "full of energy," "full of life and energy," and "pump your self up." This energy was "natural" and "contagious." Grant felt that many children just "needed some energy." Metaphorically Grant seemed to imply that energy could be caught like a virus. He indicated that humor was a vital component that a teacher needed to energize students. In this sense Grant seemed to be working with humor as infectious. However, the metaphor of energy being generated from the frame of humor did not work for Grant when he taught in a school.

Grant's second interview: Becoming a teacher

In Grants second interview he thought humor, as in being funny, was not important for teaching. It was more important for the teacher to be himself or herself and to have a normal sense of humor. In Grant's re-rating of his initial elements and constructs (see Table 1) he was far more negative towards teachers from his past. He felt he had been in a tough school but was still able to relate to the kids and to make himself approachable. Grant indicated that most of the ineffective teachers from his past "did not make an effort, they just blew through the class like, here it is." As he said, "I wonder how a professional of ten years, fifteen years, cannot see that the way they are going is boring the snot [sic] out of the kids. I became very harsh towards them."

After the practicum Grant elicited a new grid. Table 2 shows the new constructs Grant used to describe effective and ineffective teaching. In his final grid Grant had re-interpreted "humor" to mean humanness — as in a teacher in a consistent way being flexible and energetic. In this final grid Grant still focused upon being responsive and energetic, but now he alluded to a new appreciation for the need to be respectful to students.

Table 2
Post field experience constructs elicited by Grant and ordered by the GRIDTHINK program

Order Construct Entered	Constructs Created by Grant[a]
1	Responsive - Non-responsive
11	Able to individualize - Relates ideas to a whole
4	Aware of student needs - Unaware of student needs
	Child centered - Subject centered
5	Respectful - Disrespectful
3	Inspired - Uninspired
6	Flexible - Rigid
10	Consistent - Inconsistent
8	Humor - Lack of humor
9	Energetic - Lifeless
7	Inspirational - Unprofessional[b]
2	

[a] The constructs are ordered based on their number patterns from ratings on the same element. Adjacent constructs have the least variation in number ratings. [b] This construct had an orthogonal relationship with the other constructs for two of the effective teachers when analyzed in the grid.Capturing Grant's "thought objects" in story.

During Grant's teaching practice his commitment to his "thought objects" resulted in him concentrating his teaching on being enthusiastic, energetic and responsive, but also respectful to students. A story from Grant's teaching experience highlights these beliefs.

In Grant's class on teaching practice there was a large pupil, Mark, notorious as the city's under fifteen wrestling champion. Mark was often suspended from the school for being aggressive to his peers and teachers. Grant told me about his encounter with Mark.

> The very first day he was back in school he came right up to me. Because I coached ice hockey to one of the kids in the class he said, "So you are Michael's hockey coach?"
> "Yah I am."
> "Oh. Is he any good?"
> I said, "He is all right. And I mean that in a good way."
> "Oh. Mark tells me you coach football." Just the way he said it, I thought he is checking me out.
> Enthusiastically I said, "Yah I do, I coach at AL high school. Do you know the school?" I really gave it to him: He stepped back.
> "Wow! What do you coach?"

> " I coach defense, defense...AAA!! You know it is hard and tough and..." I made the actions. "You know you punch people and you hit them and stuff." I did not give him a chance other than to think, oh my goodness...wow!
>
> That is the way he checked me out. He did not do it in the classroom, he did it in the hall way. Then I reckon he walked away thinking, 'Yah, he is all right.'
>
> After that when Mark came into the class I never had a problem with him. There was one time when he was getting a bit rowdy with Cody. I did not think that I had a relation with Cody, but I did with Mark. I said to him quietly, "Mark, I need your help. The kids in this class really respect you. They see you fooling around and stuff it makes it really tough on me. I know you would not want to do that on purpose. I would not do it to you, right? You know that, right?"
> Mark replied, "Yah. O.K. Mr. F., no problem."
> When Cody started fooling around again Mark slammed his big fist on the table grunting, "No!!"
> Cody stopped. I just extended the relationship that I felt I had with Mark. I felt I could go to him, be that forward, be that honest with him. I treated him like a fourteen year old kid. He had some knowledge and I just wanted to use it....Instead of just slamming down on him, I acknowledge him.

The story showed how Grant was finding support in his experiences for his beliefs in the importance of relating to children and treating them with respect. This story was a contrast to the advice he was given by his co-operating teacher who told Grant to "be tough then loosen up." To Grant what was tough about teaching was being consistent and sincere.

Metaphor in Grant's second interview.

Throughout Grant's second interview his physical metaphor to understand teaching had developed with words such as "reaching to all kids," "crushed me" and "squeezing beliefs into a restrictive system." Grant's comments about his field experience school were that lessons, physical education and other subjects, tended to be activities that the students were just exposed to and told "to learn or else." Grant found the school environment very "harsh, strict and firm," with many "teachers acting in a condescending manner." At times this angered Grant as he felt he had to rise to a level of strictness that the pupils expected. As he described, "harsher...I mean like sharp," not like "I was use to being as a coach." As Grant said, "I was fighting not to put my ideas on the back burner."

Grant felt the school created a system that focused teachers toward subject-centered, controlling practices; it did not support dealing with children in a child-centered, more personal and individual way. A common response from kids is to fight harshness or to at least feel resentment."

As a teacher, Grant felt he was, "full of emotions...full of energy." At this time, he felt metaphorically that "Kids feed off your energy." This idea of students "feeding" off a teacher's energy places Grant at the center, as the source of energy. However, in a negative sense feeding off Grant's energy creates an image of leeches who cling to a person draining his or her "blood energy." As Grant said,

> I have to be involved and I have to be alive. There was days when I went to school, I was beat; I had been up until midnight writing lesson plans. I got up at 6 o'clock, I was at school finishing things. I would get into the classroom with one eye open; I would see the first kid then it would be 'right now here we go'.... I would just come alive. The kids were just feeding off it. My nickname was Mr. Fitness, the kids thought I was a machine. When I went home I was exhausted.

A ‘new’ metaphor in Grant’s understanding of teaching.

Within Grant’s second interview there was another ‘new’ metaphor growing in Grant's language. He seemed to have a sense of teacher as researcher. As he said, “I think that the coaching experience that I went into teaching with was fantastic, it let me explore more of my own different ways of doing things.” Grant felt he was “researching” how to teach and that he “did little experiments” because as he said “there are things I wanted to discover.”

The physical metaphors from hockey coaching that had initially informed Grant's understanding of teaching had evolved with his teaching experiences. His hockey had changed to incorporate the “researching” metaphor. For example, Grant told the story from his ice hockey coaching where he set up a situation for two forwards to be attacking a defenseman caught in the corner behind his goal. He asked the kids to figure out how to check the player. Grant explained, "Initially the forwards rushed the defenseman who then had two options — send the puck along the boards or to the net." Grant asked the kids to explore what would happen if they only gave the defenseman one option. The players realized that they then knew what the defenseman would do with the puck. As Grant said, "At first the forwards gave the defenseman too much space and he went down the boards, gradually they learned to give an opening then take it away. In the next league game we scored eight goals from turn-overs behind the opposition's goal."

Grant’s third interview

In this interview it was apparent that, for Grant, teaching as research was a fundamental way of knowing the act of teaching. Words such as “extract,” “synthesize,” “focus” and “connect” seemed to construct Grant's notion of teaching. As Grant said, the key to effective teaching is "learn from it, thinking about the research and doing, and writing it down, talking about it." Teaching for Grant was similar to human science research.

In this third interview Grant and I re-visited the teaching experiences of his first field experience. Grant was able to express stories that showed how, in practice, he recognized his belief about respecting and relating to children. For example, from Grant’s final teaching experience where he taught French for eight weeks, Grant shared the following story:

> The class was doing a unit on culture and music. To get the kids excited about the topic I asked them to discuss their favorite music with a friend. I wanted the kids to talk in French; however, the kids got excited saying what was best and why. Some of their French was slipping into English. The door was open and the noise was rising. I realized I needed to get the children back on track, but I did not want to shout and bawl. After all I wanted them to get excited, that is why I got them telling a friend why their music was so good. So I tried something else. I went over to Elaine. I got on well with her so I knew she would respond. Speaking in English, I asked Elaine very quietly what her favorite music was? If she had been to any concerts? Our discussion got very intense, but quiet. As we were talking, the rest of the class started to take an interest. In a few minutes all the class was silent -- they wanted to know what we were talking about.

Grant's alternative strategy to shouting to get control had worked. The class was excited and interested in the topic, they were energized. There was no need to control them, just channel their energy. I asked Grant how he had come up with this strategy. Grant said, "I had a sense that shouting was wrong and that I needed an alternative strategy." This seems to be an example of Schön’s (1987) reflection-in-action. Grant realized his strategy of talking quietly to a student in a pre-articulated way displayed an intuitive sense of what to do. As he said, "it was a gamble that came off." By capturing the event as a story Grant was able to develop his reflection-on-action in conversation with others and this teaching approach became a part of his understanding of teaching.

In this story Grant seems to have recognized how to channel and respect student energy. Rather than having a child feed off his energy, Grant's sense of energy when learning had evolved to a sense of a group energy that he, as the teacher, ignites but also draws from. In contrast to his initial teaching practice where Grant felt the co-operating teacher "feared the energy from the kids and so tried to control it," Grant wanted to stimulate the students' energy and flow with it. For Grant energy in teaching has become a particular social phenomena recognized as classroom climate. In this way teaching energy grows from the relationship between teachers and students as they generate knowledge.

Grant gave many other examples to describe how his approach to teaching had evolved based on a commitment to his beliefs. For example, Grant told me the following story,

> The class was noisy and off-task. One kid, Luke was overly excited, the kid you would normally pick on as an example, discipline him and then the rest of the class would be quiet. Rather than doing that I went to Luke. I whispered in the kid's ear. "Look Luke, if the class does not get quiet and do the work they are going to have a pile of homework to do. I do not want that because I will not be around to help. Would you tell the class that?" Luke agreed. I asked the class to be quiet because Luke had something to say. Luke said his bit and the class of children got on with their homework. I asked Luke what was like to be a teacher. Luke said, " It was cool."

Grant avoided using Luke as a negative example. He got the class focused on their work and gave Luke a positive sense of importance. He related to the needs of the students in the context of the lesson.

CONCLUSION

From this evidence I believe that Grant was finding classroom strategies that supported his belief structure articulated through his "thought objects" in teaching. Needless to say he is a very committed teacher who loves teaching. Grant felt that the repertory grid process clarified what he valued and allowed him to become, and keep becoming, the teacher he wanted to be. Grant may have come to this understanding without doing the repertory grid process, but the process has allowed him to be meta-cognitively aware of what he aspires to as a teacher whilst he was engaged in teacher preparation. Grant seems to have discovered real personal reflection that "reframes" (Schön, 1991) his sense of identity as a teacher. He has develop a personal, practical of knowledge of teaching that evolves from his beliefs and "new" experiences (Clandinin & Connelly, 1987).

Beliefs were articulated in "thought objects" through the conversations from the repertory grid focused on the Grant's memories of the past pedagogy of teachers. These "thought objects" were gradually realized by Grant in his practice. Grant's metaphorical language for teaching evolved as he sought to express the reality of teaching that allowed him to transform his "thought objects" into practice. This study and results from other pre-service teachers like Grant, suggest the potential for the examination of teacher thinking on a personal basis in teacher preparation as a powerful catalyst for producing effective, committed teachers.

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SO

Valiant Girls: The Reconstruction Of Femininity

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In this paper I am inching toward an understanding of some of the ways in which our everyday realities become new patterns of behaviour, fuel new ideologies, and are taken up as normative, as standards by which we all are measured. I have been strongly influenced in this by the work of R.W. Connell (1995), who pays attention to the interaction of individual agency and social structures, and of Judith Lorber (1994), who argues that gender is a social institution, permeating all other social structures.

The paper examines one aspect of my research, in which a group of parents who had chosen to send their girls to single sex schools, one private and one public, talk about their reasons for choosing the school, and their hopes for their children. In their beliefs and actions, parents both interpret and contribute to particular constructions of gender and of education.

EDUCATION, GENDER, AND SEGREGATED SCHOOLS

Researchers such as Myrna and David Sadker (1994) have documented the ways in which gender is reproduced in the classroom through curriculum, resources and classroom interactions. Girls have been found to lose more self-esteem in adolescence than boys, to be more likely than boys to drop out of sports and physical education when these become optional, to do less well in mathematics and science, to perform less well on standardised tests, and so on.

Gaskell, McLaren and Novogrodsky (1989) point out that this knowledge has, however, often led to a "deficit" model - if girls can be given higher self esteem, if girls can be persuaded to play sports, believe in their ability to do mathematics and science, then all will be well. They argue that unless the expression of inequality in the curriculum, the materials and the classroom ends, girls' performance will not make the difference. However, the myth persists that what is needed is short term special help for the girls.

One response to that is segregated schools. The form those schools take is also a result of other educational debates.

MEDIA PRESENTATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL ISSUES

Many recent newspaper articles and television programs on education discuss a perceived decline in educational standards. The unhappiness of an Angus Reid poll group of respondents was due to "poor quality of education", "Insufficient jobs skills and training provided to students", "large class sizes" etc.

Criticisms of education become integrated with a focus on girls' loss of self-esteem in adolescence. An article in the Edmonton Journal of July 20th 1996 (G6) describes a summer camp set up to "teach" teenage girls self-esteem. The course included self-defence, a critical reading of Seventeen magazine, a "reverse make-over" and playing rugby. A mother of one of the participants is quoted as saying "I think this kind of camp will make leaders out of these children so they can become trend-setters."

Concerns about self-esteem, buzz words such as leadership skills and anxiety about adolescent years constructed as sex crazed and fragile, foster the promotion of all girls' schools. It is argued that if girls are separated out during the crucial years (usually defined as junior high school), they will then have sufficient self-esteem and academic skills to deal with any discrimination in high school and beyond. This is the deficit model recognised by Gaskell et al (1992).

Parents read these reports. Many have seen their daughters' falling grades, loss of confidence, and re-orientation of priorities. Parents may also encounter instances of overt discrimination and of violence against their daughters.

When available, segregated schooling becomes an option. A focus on gender as the reason for changing schools, and the presence of two newly opened, all girls' schools in Alberta,

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provided an opportunity to investigate how parental concerns for the future of their children, and notions of sex difference, interact.

CHRISTIAN GIRLS' SCHOOL

The school is run by a Christian community of five people, and offers both residential and day programs for Grades 7 thru 12. It is rudimentary in its facilities. The location is isolated and beautiful, the property relatively undeveloped. Its founder and principal was originally a staff member at a boys' school holding the same basic philosophy - an emphasis on hard work, achievement, physical endurance, and responsibility to one's self and the community. The girls' school incorporates the same rigorous outdoor program, including snowshoeing, dog sledding and with a week long, high impact, mountain hike at the beginning of each school year. The outdoor program continues in spite of weather conditions - hiking and snowshoeing events have taken place in -35o weather, pain from injuries or other causes is expected to be ignored, and it is the good of the team which predominates.

The school has also taken some directions of its own, such as "BFA". The Business and Fine Arts Program combines art with entrepreneurial training. It is part of a self-sufficiency program which aims to give the young women the skills to be self-supporting. There is also a women's studies component in the core curriculum, so that English is studied through the writings of female authors, history includes the roles played by women etc. Alongside this, however, is a religious studies section incorporating conservative views on such issues as abortion and co-habitation.

There are two students from Mexico, but most are from Edmonton, or the rural areas surrounding the school. Their parents are farmers, truck drivers, teachers, and social workers. Some are working more than one job to raise the school fees. Several send their daughters as day students because the fees are less, or because they do not want their daughters away from home for long periods of time.

RIVER VALLEY JUNIOR HIGH PROGRAM

The second school operates as a program of the Public School Board. It has 130 students in Grades 7-9, and is designed to cover the core curriculum for each week in 4 days, using the fifth day for CEEDS - Curriculum Enrichment and Expansion Study Days, intended to integrate learning, encourage independent study and risk taking among the girls, and foster leadership. As well, a women's studies component is added into the regular curriculum.

Parents come from a wider range of occupational and educational backgrounds than in the private school, but neither school has many students who are not of European descent. In both schools, the programs and their physical sites mitigate against girls with physical disabilities.

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

At the end of my first round of interviews and visits to the schools, I prepared a list of preliminary findings which were mailed out to all the participants in the study, and followed up by focus groups. Some of the findings include:

Success

Parents wanted their daughters to be successful. This is interpreted variously as being happy, having a career of one's choice, being financially independent. Success was tied closely to confidence - girls in a segregated school were expected to become more confident. They would perform as well as the boys, and would then be able to "educate" them, eliminating discrimination. I refer to this later as "gender proofing".

Segregation

Participants said that segregated schooling allows girls to focus on academics and sports without the "distractions" of boys, who as leaders of peer groups determine popularity ratings. They also "silence" girls verbally and physically, harass them, shout them down etc. Distraction also refers to hours spent dressing to impress the boys and gain status among other girls, with a subsequent loss of academic focus and independence. Segregated schools are seen as able to demand more of girls - physically and mentally. They give girls the same expectations normally reserved for boys. Both of the schools researched encouraged the girls to challenge themselves and to take on new areas such as outdoor activities, science and mathematics.

"Cloistering"

It would be easy to see support of segregated schools as cloistering girls to keep them away from any distractions. The emphasis for most parents was not on cloistering, however, so much as on safety and security (which their daughters referred to as "freedom"). They argued that a segregated school leaves girls free to do their work and to explore a range of possibilities for themselves. They can develop self-respect and self-confidence, they said. Their stress levels are reduced through removal from name calling etc., and also through not having to work on their appearance and personality to please others. But segregation could also be seen as gender proofing.

Gender Proofing

At the heart of "success" and of much of the support for an all girls' school is a belief that girls lose their confidence and self-esteem in junior high school, and are better off segregated at least for that period of time. This is gender proofing - giving girls what they need to ignore or to confront sexism, and to achieve their own goals. However, it is not just as women that they are seen as needing personal strength. It is also in setting and following their own path, resisting peer pressures, not becoming subject to others in any way. This appeared to be the goal of "building character" which was referred to by participants, but also in school literature.

Building character

Building character is the inculcation of characteristics in girls which were seen both as generally missing and as desirable. They are, however, mostly those characteristics which are attributed to boys - risk taking, competitiveness, action, controlling one's own life through an ability to think critically and make good decisions. Building character was variously described as learning a work ethic, being a strong person and a leader, learning self-discipline, being motivated to succeed, taking on new challenges, learning to work with others, being independent and withstanding pressures to conformity.

Feminism

Parents want girls who are strong leaders, independent, seldom or never dependent on a man financially, motivated hard workers and high achievers who will stand up for their rights. There is a strong sense of individualism - girls were to make their own way, be responsible for their own lives, be prepared to raise their children by themselves, pay their own way through school, etc.

Given all this it is surprising that the majority of adults interviewed would either prefer that the young women not be feminists, or at least only a certain type of feminist - not the "radical, man-hating" kind. Feminism, they said, has such a negative connotation, it was "woman focused" or exclusive, anti-male, and wanting women's rights at the expense of "others". Feminists were portrayed both as man hating, and as wanting to be men. While sending their daughters to a woman-focused school, these parents did not want to give out the impression that they were rejecting men, or the male world.

The anomaly here is that male characteristics were being validated and promoted, while men were portrayed as rather unpleasant and violent characters who girls should not copy. At the same time, the brothers, fathers, and other men in the lives of the families were portrayed as "different" - as not like that. There was an acceptance of gender difference, and admiration for family members who did not fit the stereotype. The real fear seemed to be that girls who were different would become too aggressive. So the emphasis was on such things as competition with oneself, not others, co-operation and team spirit, respect and being "nice".

Girls were to go out and demand equality, but not at the expense of anyone else, and not raucously. Niceness is important, especially for women, and should not be sacrificed to change, said participants. Men, they said, have got to learn to treat women differently, but women should not descend to their level to teach them that. Note that men are to treat women differently, but this does not entail a revision of how women (or men) are defined.

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Others were in favour of "some" feminism, and liked the women's studies component in both schools, "as long as it doesn't go too far" or provided it was taught in a way that did not "deflect from other (important) events in history". They felt it was good to have the students see what other women have accomplished. A very few parents would be "happy" even "proud" to have their daughters a feminist, while several made comments that could be summed up as "I'm not a feminist really. I just want everyone to be treated equally".

FOCUS GROUP FOR PARENTS

At a focus group for parents at the private school, I asked the parents about the characteristics their daughters were acquiring. If this school is teaching them all these traits we have labelled masculine, I asked, what place is there here for femininity? They were emphatic that women and men are different, but that their skills can be the same. Women can, and should, enter the trades and professions, make good leaders, are good workers and should be paid the same, they said. "But even when she's a grease monkey in coveralls", said one man there, "she's still a lady".

One said that he hoped that when these students married, their partner would realise that if he tried anything on (like verbal or physical abuse), he'd be shown the door, and that would coerce him into treating his wife as an equal. I had heard this idea in the interviews - girls who gained confidence and self respect would then teach the boys to change also, and to treat girls with respect. Respect and difference came up in the focus group continually.

I asked if boys needed to change as well as girls. Although boys had been heavily criticised for their behaviours, the idea that they should become more feminine was quickly rejected. As one man said in the focus group, he would have a great deal of trouble with a boy who wanted to play with dolls or wear dresses. Boys were to be masculine, while girls were to be feminine with masculine characteristics.

CONTRADICTIONS

Most of the students and some parents were adamant that the move to a segregated school was not made because they did not like boys or blamed them for their academic performance. It was made because they wanted to be able to focus on their school work. Boys were a distraction, but it was not their fault, they were not to blame. It was the girls who needed to change their ways.

A contradiction is that the protectiveness of parents led to a push to independence and self sufficiency in their daughters - they were protecting them, but only for now. Once out of this school, they had to fend for themselves. But while wanting strong daughters, they did not want masculinized daughters. This is further supported by the appeal of a pamphlet for a private all girls' school in Winnipeg, which has a long and successful history. Their students, they claim, "have a more active orientation to life, leadership and relationships, **while at the same time enhancing female qualities**." (My emphasis). Further, they were not to be feminists, since feminists are aggressive and confrontational, not "nice". It is very important to be nice, one student said, because you need lots of friends. These confident and independent women would be distanced from the women's movement. A second contradiction is that education was seen as the means to the independence of these girls. It would give them choices in their future jobs or careers, and also enable them to make good decisions, thus having greater control over their own lives. But education, as O'Brien argues (1981) is "malestream knowledge". Consequently, the schools were offering a "Women's Studies" component which "added women in" to history and literature, giving the students access to counter knowledge, from inside a malestream curriculum. The Women's Studies component was intended more as a moral lesson than as a new epistemology.

A paradox here is that the "male culture" may be validated, but at the same time, boys were certainly not looked upon as "good" people. Girls needed protection both from the violence of boys and from their sexual attractions. Boys were not to be effeminate, but they were not nice when masculine. The girls were to become more like the boys so that they could stand up to them - it is a warlike image of a balance of power that is being projected.

CONCLUSIONS

As Connell (1987) and Lorber (1994) argue, gender is continually formulated in social practices. Parents of daughters read or see media accounts of the connection between education and employment. They also know about findings on girls' low self-esteem and school performance. Consequently they look for opportunities to improve the education of their daughters, and to "gender proof" them against whatever they encounter in the future. To do this, some parents choose to "cloister" their daughters in an all girls' school. To add them in, they first separate them out.

The first corcern of parents is to keep their daughters safe, both from sexuality and from other distractions that might prevent them from having a happy and comfortable life. In order to accomplish that, they choose a school which will assist students in acquiring those characteristics which are valued in our society. But they want gender (sex differences) to continue. They do not want to change the world. But they do want to ensure their daughters are successful on its terms, and that they have equality.

In expressing these concerns, parents reflect, and put their own stamp on, prevailing myths about education, about employment, and about gender relations. Education is seen as imparting information which is "true" rather than biased. The connection between education and employment is accepted without questioning what kind of employment, and what kind of education, is being connected. Any suggestion of discrimination is met with the belief that properly armed, each girl will clear her own path of obstacles. These girls will not work in job ghettoes or under a glass ceiling, although the structures that have fostered both are not being challenged. These valiant girls will work (and triumph) on their own.

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SCHOOL EDUCATION IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

Victoria Hritonenko

There are many different points of view on education in the Soviet Union in the past, but I would like to present education in the Soviet Union and compare its characteristic to the Canadian one from the viewpoint of the high school student.

STRUCTURE OF SCHOOL EDUCATION

Soviet school was divided into three sections. The first one was from grade 1 to grade 4 (so-called *beginning school*). Pupils were taught by one teacher. They had 3-4 lessons in the morning and a regular day-care after them. The grades from 5 to 9 made up *middle school*. After finishing it the student had an exam session and obtained a *diploma about unfinished secondary education*. At this level the compulsory school education was finished.

In grade 10, after getting a diploma for completing 9 grades, the program became slightly different from the Canadian one. Students got a chance to go to post-secondary school and earn a specialized degree. However, most of the students didn't leave the high school. There, besides the usual set of subjects, studying of chosen profession (secretary, mechanic, etc.) was added. It helped them to find a part-time job if it needed. In the summer everybody went to work. They could see industry and agriculture, see their needs, and become closer to them. There were a lot of professions which were close to industry and agriculture.

The former Soviet Union wanted students to be universally educated. So, students attended all subjects. The number of them varied from a few (about 7) at grade one, to 16-18 at the grade 11. The subjects repeated with a period of one week (as distinct from Canadian schools where they have one or two day periods). On one hand, it was convenient because students had time to get ready for the next lesson. On the other hand, the amount of work grew faster than the amount of time to do it. The students went to school from September to May, and from Monday to Saturday. The lessons were 45 minutes long. In the oldest grades, two lessons of the same subject were combined into one block. The benefit of this idea was that the block time had increased by the time of the break between the two lessons. The breaks were 10 minutes a long although there was long break of 15 minutes. In Canada it is more convenient because there is lunch-time, when students can prepare for the next couple of blocks. In Canada there often are just four subjects to study and to write exams on at one time. It wasn't as hard as in the former Soviet Union because there were more subjects to study there.

Students were made to memorize a lot of things for any subject (formulas, constants, poetry, dates, events, names, and so on). They were always checked directly or indirectly by the teacher. The homework included more to do and was more complicated. If the student was able to do the homework, he could write any test. An average soviet student manipulated his knowledge better and more easily than a Canadian one.

SCHOOL SUBJECTS

The program was the same from the Baltic to the Pacific. It helped a student because he or she could continue his or her education in the universities of different cities or even republics. Every school had to prepare a student for any kind of secondary school.

The change was that students in the republics studied a second (so-called *native*) language along with Russian. It had to be studied everywhere. There were two exceptions. One was Russia, which did not require studying a second language. The second exception was that children of military officers didn't have a native language because they moved very often from one republic to another. However, the problem wasn't solved. Sometimes, the studying of the second language was hard because it was very different from the first language (for example, the Kazahk language). It was closer to Arabic than to Russian. For the urban population, where the first language was Russian, it was extremely hard. They forgot it as soon as they had completed high school (unless they wanted to connect their future with it). Besides Russian schools, there were native schools where children's first language was a native one different from Russian. All subjects were taught in the native language and Russian became the second language. However, it was inconvenient for students' future because Russian was universal speaking tool in the multinational USSR.

This situation was similar to Canada, where there are two kinds of schools depending on language: English and French.

There was also a third language which everybody had to study (so-called *foreign language*). It was usually English, German, French, or Spanish. Studying this was hard and most of the time useless. The former Soviet Union didn't have many foreign people, and citizens of the Soviet Union usually could not often visit countries outside the Socialistic Camp (almost all people inside this camp spoke Russian). So, for Soviet people, studying those foreign languages was simply a waste of time (unless they used it in their future job, for example, a scientific one).

In Canada, there are several levels of subjects. There is an academic level for the students who want to continue their education. However, there is a level for the students, whose goals aren't so high. They don't need academic excellence for their future. A Canadian school student has to choose his future early to take the right set of subjects to study. If the student changes his mind, he has to take extra subjects. In the Soviet Union there was just the academic level. Students had to study subjects they didn't need or need as much. For many students it was very hard. On one hand, the students in the Soviet Union studied a universal set of subjects. After completing school he or she could apply to any faculty of any university or college. On other hand, in Canada it is not necessary to waste the time studying useless subjects, or to have big learning loads Canadian students have more time for rest and sports activities. That is why an average Canadian student is much healthier and more cheerful than his/her soviet colleague.

There were two literatures: Russian and Native. Depending on one's first language literature of the World was included with the Russian or the native literature. Studying them was also different. Students had assignments for every summer. It was a list of books required for reading. Students read these books and by the beginning of the school year they already were prepared for writing essays. In summer they had time to read a book carefully and analyze it slowly. The result of this was that students didn't need school time to read books, but just repeat general ideas. So, there were more books read. Works of literature of the World were taught one by one, and were grouped by the literature movements (for example: English classicism, then French, then an example from Russian. After this students had an opportunity to compare the same movement in the different countries and what it was caused by.).

There was physical education. In this, students had to pass some number of so-called *normatives*. It means there were standards they had to satisfy. For example: running a distance in a particular time, jumping over a particular height, etc. So, there was not much time left for games. It was hard for a lot of students because *normatives* were made for an average person. As you might understand, not all students could satisfy all requirements. Even through only boys in age of eighteen served army in the for two years, in last the grades of high school all boys and girls attended special military preparation. Besides physical demands, that course included studying the basics of medicine.

There was also heavy studying of the sciences. Mathematics was divided into algebra and geometry. These subjects covered more material than in Canada (geometry included also stereometry that was really hard for most of the students). It was convenient for those who wanted to connect their future with it. It helped those going to universities because even school math created different thinking students. The way students tried to solve problems was different. Students were made to solve a large number of them. So students had much practice in every particular math topic. It happened in physics also. On one hand, it was a good preparation for post-secondary schools. On the other hand, students studied a lot of things they didn't need in the future. However, it was really hard for all of them. The marks weren't high. It was almost impossible to get a very high mark. It wasn't convenient because during the application to post-secondary schools, an average mark in the diploma played an important role. In contrast, biology was not taught as thoroughly as in Canada. It was because the biology lessons were only two times a week (it means about 90 minutes per week). Such subjects as biology, history, geography and some others weren't taken as seriously as they are in Canada, where there are equal amounts of time spent for every subject. So when students went to a medical or another biological establishment, they had to study everything again, but this time seriously. As you can see studying those subjects was useless for people who wanted to enter into those specialties. It was used by others just as common knowledge unless they forgot it all.

Although in Soviet schools there weren't any options to study, there were free establishments, where children could study their hobbies. Sometimes, such establishments included more then 50 faculties. There were no marks for those studies. Those subjects didn't have any influence on the diplomas and weren't connected with school at all. Also, besides, regular schools there were specialized schools, where, beyond, a compulsory set of subjects, students paid extra attention to a particular subject or a set of them. It was hard to get into those schools because they provided very good preparation to the entrance exams to post-secondary schools. The studying in such schools was hard because they usually covered materials from the university.

TESTING

The system of testing in the Soviet Union was simple. The hardest tests were quizzes, which were made by teachers. There were also, tests given by the ministry of education. There were four quarters in a school year, and four report cards, so there were four quarters tests two half years tests and one final. They were much easier then teacher 's ones. It wasn't a problem to write them well. However, in Canada, students given the minimum required for the finals, therefore a lot of students haven't not just a good mark, but even a passing mark. So, their marks go down a lot after writing the finals. There is nothing could be done to correct this.

In Canada students are majority evaluated by teachers' quizzes. In the Soviet Union students were primarily asked during the lessons. Usually one student was answering in the front of class and others could be called at any time to help that student, therefore nobody slept. And were looking for the answers. Consequently, it was necessary to be ready for every lessons. Those answers cost a little, but they helped to remember material for the finals. Preparing a homework it was usual for student to go to the library and to use side references. Also, they were usually given the assignments to work in the libraries, using different sources. It was a good experience for the universities and others highest establishments. For them, it wasn't a surprise if the answers weren't in the textbook. Here, in Canada, there is no need for a student to use library materials. Students get used that everything that they need could be found in the textbook. If something is not there, they don't try to find new information from other sources. They just forget about this matter. This is harmful habit because in post secondary school such skills are very useful.

Generally, students were educated to work by themselves and use side references. They had a lot of homework to do. When students completed high school they were less surprised and shocked by difficulties of studying in universities than their Canadian colleagues. They had more abilities for self-control, taking notes, and planning their own time.

EXAMS

At high school there were just a few exams. They were twice in whole school-time. However, at the end of every year there were year test. The way the Soviet student had their exams was, also, different. There were two types of them: written and oral. Both of them had their advantages and disadvantages. The written exam had a few questions, unlike in Canada, where students get whole brochure with questions to answer. There were a few of them, but they were very complicated. The answers had to be perfectly written and explained. For even very small mistake the marks were taken off. There were just four marks: "2" stood for bad, "3" for passing, "4" was good, "5" meant excellence. So, for a every minor mistake 20% were taken off. This type was usually preferred by science teachers to check students' ability to solve different kinds of problems. The oral exam was different. Every student got set of tickets (from twenty five to forty). In every ticket there were three or four general questions. Those tickets included questions from whole year of studying. Student got a couple of weeks to prepare them. On day of exam, there was an examination commission (had to include three or more teachers). At first, the student came he chose the ticket like in lottery. Then he could prepare the questions (usually from 30 to 45 minutes). After this student had to present answers to the teachers commission. The time to present was not less then a half of an hour. Teachers are allowed to ask unlimited amount of questions. It was hard to answer all of them well, because there was no time to prepare them. This type was preferred by most of teachers, especially, by language, history, geography teachers and the science teachers to check theoretical knowledge.

Another thing was, for Soviet teachers the mark "3" the passing mark wasn't fine unlike it is in Canada. Here teacher says: "that's OK" if the student had mark lower then 70%. The student uses to it and in his mind it is OK, too. When students get their diplomas it turns to be not OK, a lot of post secondary establishments don't want to take such students. In the Soviet Union this problem arose very quickly. If in soviet school the child had a danger of not passing, the parents were notified about this and asked to pay more attention and influence on the kid. Class average varied from 50% to 80%. Lowest values could happen in specialized schools where level of teaching was high and studying was extremely hard.

In Canada if the subject is not passed, then it could be retaken. In the Soviet Union if such situation happened teacher worked with him in summer to caught. Otherwise, the student wasn't transferred to the next grade. All subjects had to be retaken.

SCHOOL RELATIONSHIPS

Usually students were taught by one teacher through the course from grade five to grade eleven. It was convenient because students and the teacher got used to each other and worked in team. The students were formed in classes with the teacher in a head. He knew everything about each of his student's school. He usually called parents for meetings. If parents had questions about their children's school, they could always ask the class teacher about this. It was like a big family. They spent a lot of time together and were closer then those are in Canada. It was a usual thing , when class gathered together to visit some places, such as museums, theaters, concerts, galleries, etc. That could be useful not just as a common knowledge, but as a side reference in school.

Teachers had to control students' behavior. They could not ignore students' low marks, rare attendance, etc. They didn't let students go by a stream. If such thing happened, the parents were disturbed even in the job. Sometimes if police was involved the student was put under police attention. He had to inform the police officer about everything he was doing. However, such cases were pretty rare.

Students wore uniforms. It had dark colors and simple fashion. Teenagers weren't allowed to color their hair, wear make-up or others accusers, because they had to look modest.

The rules of school were strict student could be exiled if teacher would see him or her smoking even if it's not in school.

SITUATION TODAY

Now every Post Soviet republic, every region, and even every school can choose its own program of education. All of them are based on the old Soviet program. On one hand, it is better because it gives schools an opportunity to try new methods of teaching, and to put different programs in life. It makes possible more completely to respond to real life requirements. On other hand, a possibility of corruption appears for the teachers and other school stuff, what is especially dangerous in poor countries. Unfortunately, there are a lot of newspaper articles about such examples in the post-soviet republics.

The Use Of Erik Erikson's Life Stages Theory In Deaf Education

Pat Hughes & Michael Rodda

This paper discusses Erikson's theory of human development through the life span: identifying its origins, and exploring its pervasive influence in theory and practice in the education of Deaf and hard of hearing students. The theory emerged out of Freud's psychoanalytic perspective and the resolution of each of Erikson's eight stages are explained with illustrations of the impact deafness can have at each stage.

The literature of deafness (e.g., Meadow, 1968, 1980; Moores, 1987; Schlesinger, 1972, 1978; and even in a subtle way, Harvey, 1989) promotes Erikson's theory as an explanation for many of the personal, psychosocial, and educational difficulties experienced by some deaf individuals. The present authors question the wisdom of subscribing to Erikson's life stages theory in "deaf studies". Recent trends in psychological approaches to explain social/emotional development offer a more meaningful perspective than Erikson's psychoanalytic view of development. Moreover, Erikson was not intending to address either educational practice or cognitive theory. Although it is a self-evident statement, Erikson explored the interaction between children and significant others (the social world) from a psychiatric viewpoint. Using Erikson as the dominant developmental theorist in deaf education and other aspects of "deafness studies" immediately perpetuates the myth that Deaf (and hard of hearing) students and other people have major mental health problems. The medical model implicitly implies that all deaf people are at risk of being emotionally delayed because of their deafness. In contrast, Hughes (1996), for example, reviewed the literature on the mental health of individuals with hearing loss. There were conflicting findings for numerous reasons, but it was evident that mental health problems are not a given for individuals with hearing loss. However, language and communication considerations are very real issues and the impact of a delay in effective language acquisition on education and social interactions is well documented (Berry, 1992; Davis, Elfenbein, Schum, & Bundler, 1986; Heimgartner, 1982; Liben, 1978; Rodda & Grove, 1987; Webster, 1986; Wood, Wood, Griffiths, & Howarth, 1986). Such difficulties need not and, in our view, should not be explained by a medically based, psychoanalytic model of development.

Erikson's Theory

Erikson considered Freud's theory to be too narrowly focussed. Therefore, in his life stages theory, Erik Erikson extended Freud's psychosexual stage theory. By attempting to blend biological, social, and psychological interpretations, "Erikson shifted psychoanalysis's traditional concern with abnormal defensively motivated behaviors to a concern with the normal functioning of the healthy ego" (Monte, 1995, p. 263). There is a strong connection between the writings of Freud and Erikson, but the two differ in their outlook: Freud's theories tend to be pessimistic, whereas Erikson tends to be optimistic (Handman, 1996). Although instincts and drives are important, as promoted by Freud, Erikson expanded his concern to how the individual interprets those needs (Monte, 1995). In summary, Erikson's psychoanalytic theory of development considered the successful resolution and integration of each of his eight critical stages of life from biological, social, and psychological perspectives, with ultimate interest revolving around the person's conception of him/herself (Monte, 1995). As well, Erikson's focus on the individual's interaction with others is similar to other ego psychologists' (Monte, 1995).

One way that Erikson expanded psychoanalytic theory was to add an ego mode to each libidinal zone identified by Freud. Additionally,

> Erikson maintains that the whole life cycle, the eight stages of man, can be seen as an integrated psychosocial development in a sequence of critical phases. A critical phase can be described as a biologically motivated process of maturation which requires psychological adaptation to achieve a new level of development (Schlesinger, 1972, p. 9).

This is somewhat reminiscent of Piaget's theory of conflicts. According to Crain (1992),

> biological maturation and social expectations ... push one along [Erikson's stages] according to

> a certain timetable whether one has been successful at earlier stages or not … [but] success at earlier stages affects the chances of success at later ones (p. 264).

The similarity is not surprising. Piaget, Freud, and other theorists of the early 20th century all had their origins in the intellectual climate of the post-Darwinian era. They were all, to varying degrees, biological determinists with a "life stages" perspective clearly related to evolutionary origins of the species.

The Stages of Freud and Erikson

Table 1 compares Freud's and Erikson's stages and includes Erikson's ego mode for each of his eight stages of life along with a descriptive feeling associated with each. Although the first five age stages are similar to Freud, what occurs at each stage is completely different (Handman, 1996).

Table 1

Age	Freud's Stage	Erikson's General Stage	Erikson's *Ego Mode*	Erikson's Descriptive Feeling
Birth to 1 year	Oral	Trust vs. Mistrust	*Hope*	*"I am what I am given"*
1 - 3 years	Anal	Autonomy vs. Shame, Doubt	*Will*	*"I am what I will"*
3 - 6 years	Phallic (Oedipal/ Electra)	Initiative vs. Guilt	*Purpose*	*"I can imagine I will be"*
6 -11 years	Latency	Industry vs. Inferiority	*Competence*	*"I am what I can learn"*
Adolescence	Genital	Identity vs. Role Confusion	*Fidelity*	N/A
Young Adulthood	N/A	Intimacy vs. Isolation	*Love*	N/A
Adulthood	N/A	Generativity vs. Self-Absorption, Stagnation	*Care*	N/A
Old Age	N/A	Ego Integrity vs. Despair:	*Wisdom*	N/A

Erikson's stages are considered psychosocial because what happens in the child's social environment during each stage affects the nature of the crisis resolution of each stage. This differs from Freud's drive orientation. Furthermore, the crisis at each of Erikson's life stages has a positive or negative resolution. A positive resolution strengthens the ego and, correspondingly, a negative resolution weakens the process of ego development.

Erikson's Theory Applied to Deafness

Meadow (1968) appears to be the first to apply Erikson's developmental model to deafness. Schlesinger (1972, 1978) further articulated the theory's relevance for explaining the difficulties Deaf and hard of hearing individuals experience, particularly for those with hearing parents. From these beginnings, examples of more recent writings (Densham, 1995; Maxon & Brackett, 1992; Paul & Jackson, 1993) support the premise that Erikson's developmental model provides a good foundation for educational approaches for Deaf and hard of hearing students. Erikson's theory also remains the dominant developmental theory used to explain the difficulties experienced by many Deaf adults.

There are examples in the literature where developmental difficulties are specifically not related to Erikson's model. Arnold (1993), Markoulis and Christoforou (1991), and Markoulis and Christoforou (1993), for example, discuss the sociomoral reasoning of deaf children more from a Piagetian perspective. In his book, *Behavioral Traits of Deaf Children,* Heimgartner (1982) also takes a different perspective in describing and considering the impact of deafness. Nevertheless, these exceptions do not disprove the premise that unsuccessful resolutions of Erikson's life stages is commonly used to explain psychosocial difficulties of Deaf people and even implicitly of some hard of hearing people. Arnold's (1993) statement is typical (with the appropriate stages from Table 1 italicized and inserted):

> the deaf's development of real friendship [is] retarded *[Young Adulthood]*, ... they [are] egocentric for longer *[Autonomy v. Shame]*, ... they [have] difficulty in delaying the immediate satisfaction of their needs *[Adulthood]*, [there is] retardation in the process of sexual identification *[Adolescence]*, the development of their social concepts is hampered, and deaf adolescents are claimed to be more aggressive amongst themselves than their hearing peers (p. 161).

The Impact of Deafness on Psychosocial Development Applied to Erikson's Eight Stages of Life

Schlesinger (1972, 1978) pointed out that although deafness impacts the psychosocial development of some children, other deaf individuals develop very sophisticated strategies for psychosocial adaptations. She did, however, feel that the use of age appropriate sophisticated psychosocial strategies is more common when the deaf child has a deaf parent. The form that this process takes varies according to the stage of development.

Trust versus Mistrust: *Hope*

According to Erikson, the main task for the first year of life, to establish a basic trust in the world, is dependent on the mother-child relationship being nurtured in a warm and caring environment (Monte, 1995; Schlesinger, 1972, 1978). The guilt, sorrow, grief, and anger experienced by some mothers of deaf babies may, however, affect the warmth and stability of the environment (Densham, 1995; Schlesinger, 1972, 1978). Erikson describes the feeling developed in the child at this early stage as, "I am what I am given" (Monte, 1995; Schlesinger, 1972). Schlesinger (1972) suggests that this stage in a deaf baby's life requires active parental involvement, presenting a variety of stimuli to compensate for the child's deafness. Looking to the future potential of such children, Schlesinger (1972) justifies her position in the statement:

> there may be 'critical periods' at which different kinds of behavior are most effectively learned and incorporated. If such learning does not take place at the appropriate times, it may be less completely learned and may break down in times of stress (p. 12).

Although Schlesinger (1972, 1978) cannot identify the impact of deafness upon the infant at this early stage, she contends that it will be more clearly felt in later stages. Meadow (1980), however, confirms and clarifies that little is known about the deaf infant's development in her statement:

> Because the diagnosis of deafness is very often delayed until after the first year of life has passed, very little is known about what happens to the deaf child during his first twelve months and whether he responds differently to persons and objects in his environment (p. 123).

Autonomy versus Shame, Doubt: *Will*

The major task for the eighteen month to three year old child, according to Eriksonian theory, is to develop a sense of autonomy accompanied by a good feeling towards self and the environment (Monte, 1995; Schlesinger, 1972). The parent-child interaction also regulates this period (Monte, 1995). "At this stage of development, [the child needs to] use and develop inner controls and to develop feelings of separateness and independence" (Schlesinger, 1972, p. 15). The feeling used to describe this stage is "I am what I will" (Monte, 1995; Schlesinger, 1972). "Will", in this sense, describes the "determination to exercise free choice as well as self-restraint" (Monte, 1995, p. 283).

An important task for the developing child at this age is the acquisition of language, used to facilitate the growth of autonomy. For the deaf child, however, as Schlesinger (1972) points out, parents tend to impose too stringent restraints, "hampered by the lack of meaningful reciprocal communication" (p. 14); and to place greater importance on speech. Consequently, the stage is set for power struggles, which, although not unlike those that occur for the normally developing hearing child, are different in both their severity and in the fact that the opportunity to resolve them is extremely difficult when communication between parent and child is so limited. As Schlesinger (1972) suggests, because of the frequent lack of manual communication with their parents, "many deaf children go through this stage with an intensity of negativism that interferes with normal maturation" (p. 15). Erikson maintains that if parents are excessively controlling and strict at this stage, the resulting negative resolution will result in the development of feelings of inadequacy, doubt, and shame in the Deaf child (Handman, 1996).

Initiative versus Guilt: *Purpose*

During the Eriksonian stage of initiative versus guilt, the three to six year old child's main goal is to establish a sense of purposefulness of life and one's self. "I can imagine I will be" (Schlesinger, 1972) dominates the desire to find out what kind of person s/he can become as s/he moves into the larger society. "Initiative … connotes forward movement. The child with a sense of initiative makes plans, sets goals, and perseveres in attaining them" (Crain, 1992, p. 254).

Verbal and motor exuberances mark this age. These exuberances, however, may be restricted in many classrooms for the young deaf child, despite the fact that s/he relies on movement for communication. "Earlier, a variety and abundance of meaningful sensory input were of prime importance; now the responsiveness of the environment to the child's activities assumes primary importance" (Schlesinger, 1972, p. 16). Self-esteem is developing and exposure to successful deaf adults is, therefore, also important. Effective role-modelling, combined with increasing exposure to language, aids the child in his/her exploration of what they can become, an important task at this stage.

Industry versus Inferiority: *Competence*

The school-aged child of six to eleven years internalizes the feeling of "I am what I can learn" (Schlesinger, 1972), establishing a sense of industry and competency. At this stage, "children master important cognitive and social skills" (Crain, 1992, p. 255). The impact of social interaction is clearly felt at this stage in the young deaf person's life. Many people are uncomfortable with those who are 'different', and deafness is no exception. Additionally, education, itself, may provoke "expectations of further failures" (Schlesinger, 1972, p. 19). Teachers need greater awareness of "the positive values of culturally different learners and understanding of their learning style, language and modes of behavior" (Schlesinger, 1972, p. 19). However, even under the best of conditions, Schlesinger (1972) still maintains that "the deaf child will demonstrate a delayed solution of the crisis of competency and achievement as defined by the majority culture" (p. 20).

Identity versus Role Confusion: *Fidelity*

Most adolescents, between the ages of eleven and eighteen, face "problems of [needing] emancipation, independence, and freedom [at the early stage], while problems of social role and personal purpose within the wider world occupy the later stage" (Schlesinger, 1972, p. 20). The goals of the adolescent are to integrate earlier learning and to combine it into a true sense of identity. However, Schlesinger (1972, 1978) maintains that Eriksonian theory predicts that many deaf adolescents approach this time in their lives with varying unresolved crises from previous stages. Identity formation may also involve rejecting the hearing world of his/her parents.

Intimacy versus Isolation: *Love*

The young adult then faces the world of love and work. Low self-esteem and an unsuccessful resolution of the adolescent identity crisis have a negative impact on the stage of 'intimacy versus isolation'. Crain (1992), for instance, states: "real intimacy is only possible once a reasonable sense of identity has been established" (p. 258).

As well, research has shown that many deaf individuals face under- or unemployment (Moores, 1987). Therefore, the attitudes of society as the deaf child develops and ultimately enters adulthood have a negative cumulative impact. According to Schlesinger (1972), Erikson would see this " 'work paralysis' … as the logical sequence of a deep sense of inadequacy" (p. 25).

Generativity versus Self-Absorption, Stagnation: *Care*

Schlesinger (1972) also uses Erikson's theory to explain difficulties experienced by some deaf parents. For example, she suggests that the immature deaf parent may be "unable to see their infant as a feeling being. … [As well] many competent and mature deaf parents have developed a false sense of inadequacy–a feeling possibly promoted and provoked by society" (pp. 26-27). Schlesinger's (1972) later statements clarify her position:

> It has become clear to us that generativity and care can be seriously distorted through unresolved early developmental crises. It has also become clear that a sense of generativity and care may be difficult to maintain–even when present–in the face of society's stigma toward the deaf and toward deafness (Schlesinger, p. 28).

Ego Integrity versus Despair: *Wisdom*

Successful resolution of this final stage of adulthood results in wisdom (Monte, 1995). Individuals at this point of development do not fear death because they are happy with the life they have lived and are satisfied that they "did their part" (Handman, 1996). The individual with a strong ego integrity experiences "wisdom" – a detached concern for life itself when faced with death (Handman, 1996). But, unsuccessful resolution of this stage leads to despair and meaninglessness.

Little has been written of the impact of deafness on Erikson's final stage of adulthood, that of 'ego integrity versus despair': direct experience and research with the "aged" deaf is rare.

Schlesinger's (1972) concluding hope is that hearing parents will "increase their acceptance of deafness in their children, and with this acceptance help their children to meet and master the challenges of each life crisis" (p. 29). Twenty years later, Densham (1995) takes this suggestion further: "… the attitudes of professionals at the time of diagnosis are likely to have major implications for parents and their [deaf] children" (p. 139).

General Implications

Schlesinger's (1972, 1978) applications of Erikson's theory to explain the impact of deafness focussed on the psychosocial development of the deaf individual and were of major significance at the time. They represented a first break with the concept of deafness as an illness. A the same time, the seemingly-automatic negative impact of deafness on healthy self-esteem reflected a vestigial reflection of the medical model and relied heavily on the writings of psychiatrists such as Denmark, Basilier, and Altshuler. Supporters of such a perspective also perpetuated the expectation that congenital or early-onset deafness will have a negative impact on the development of an individual, resulting in an array of mental health problems. Psychoanalysis, from which Erikson's theory emerged, belongs in the psychiatric field, not in educational discussions. Also, although psychoanalysis may provide some insights into 'why' certain behaviours are manifest, it does not direct itself to solving problems, except, perhaps, in a preventative role. It is a conundrum of scientific research that writers and theorists such as Schlesinger and her colleagues, who did so much to dispel the myth that deafness was an illness, at the same time subscribe to a theory that led unerringly to a conclusion that to be deaf was a sickness, albeit a psychosocial one not a physical one.

Alternative Models

To move forward from Schlesinger's (1972, 1978) position, alternative models could be considered to explain and to enhance the psychosocial development of deaf individuals. Lee and Antia (1992), for example, propose Allport's contact theory. Also, Bandura's social learning theory may be an effective alternate model (Hughes, 1996). Nonetheless, Densham (1995) suggests that a multidisciplinary or eclectic perspective may better serve the deaf population. She supports her argument with the suggestion that we not emphasize:

> stress on the reciprocal nature of the relationship between the child and its environment, and the symbiotic system formed by the two … [and there is] a new emphasis on the ecological approach, which argues that no single relationship (for example, mother and child) can be studied adequately without taking into account significant others in what is a highly complex network of relationships (p. 20).

Despite comments in the early portion of her book that seemingly continue to support an Eriksonian perspective, Densham (1995) is therefore proposing that professionals working with deaf individuals reconsider their interactions and assumptions.

Harvey (1989) also discusses a variety of approaches used to explain the psychosocial development of deaf individuals, including "Schlesinger and Meadow's (1972) analysis of the impact of deafness on the child's successful resolution of the eight Eriksonian [sic] developmental crises" (p. 29). Finding limitations in the documented models, Harvey (1989) consequently illustrates "the systemic interplays of developing ecological relationships across time that support a presenting problem(s) of a deaf individual" (p. 30).

Conclusion

Whatever the validity or otherwise, there is a clear consensus in more recent writings that psychosocial concepts are important to the overall development of all individuals and it must be considered when dealing with deaf children. Despite this consensus, Erikson's eight stages of life still do not adequately address the educational, language, and cognitive issues specific to the needs of Deaf and hard of hearing children and adults. Rather they create an expectation of an increased prevalence of mental health problems among deaf people.

The acceptance of Schlesinger's (1972, 1978) application of Erikson's model places the disability before the person. The holistic focus of our current inclusive educational system is the child–who may also be black, white, male, female, daughter of a baker, etc. This child may also be Deaf or hard of hearing. All individuals, regardless of their distinctive differences, have psychosocial needs and conflicts that Erikson's life stages may or may not address. Although Erikson differs from Freud's psychosexual orientation, and is more optimistic in nature, it is still firmly anchored in the biological perspective and Darwinian concepts that drove Freud into his somewhat pessimistic view of the nature of man.

Erikson's Eight Stages of Life are still commonly adhered to in "deaf education", although the influence is more often found now in the pervasive conceptual framework forged over the last 20 years or so. It is also evident that most literature supports the premise that deafness itself tends to have an almost-automatic negative impact on the healthy psychological development and mental health of a congenitally deaf individual. Erikson's theory was not originally intended to be applied to educational or cognitive issues, and the several alternative models noted in this paper are more likely to explain and enhance more effectively the psychosocial development of individuals with congenital or early onset deafness.

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Race And Education: Waking Up To The Smell Of The Coffee

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Data and Method

This paper describes research undertaken in two Edmonton high schools. It used focus group of students and individual interviews with students and teachers. The students ranged in age from 15-20 years (grades 10 -12). Using the narratives of the students I highlight three aspects which can shed light on how Black student identity relates to perceptions of the Alberta Social Studies curriculum. By way of caution it should be recognized that this paper represents a fragment of the story of African Canadian students in Edmonton. The students whose narratives are represented within this paper view themselves as collectively "Black" there are other students who do not.

The paper discusses two themes:
(1) Black identity in formation.
(2) How Black identity filters perceptions of the curriculum especially views on:
  (i) a lack of recognition of the intellectual contributions of continental Africans and as well as Africans of the Diaspora.
  (ii) homogenization of Black experiences in the curriculum.
  (iii) pedagogy

Identity

Stuart Hall defines identity as a narrative of the self; it is the story that we tell about the self in order to know who we are (Hall, 1991 p.16). Therefor we can ask what story do African Canadian students in two Edmonton high schools tell about themselves and how does the curriculum negate or reinforce these stories?

The bond for many of the students interviewed is the reaction of a dominant white society to their "marked colour" as well as a sense of what bell hooks (1992) calls "collective memory", a shared knowledge of Black history and contemporary experiences. The significance of this shared memory is captured by Jonathan Arc's formulation that:

> the process of remembering can be a practice which: transforms history from a judgement on the past in the name of the present truth to a `counter-memory' that combats our current modes of truth and justice, helping us to understand and change the present by placing it in a new relation to the past (Arc, 1986 cited in hooks, 1992, p.174).

The student narratives indicate that how they are perceived by others in society as well as how they perceive themselves affects construction of various identities. Though aspects of culture related to their differing geographical origins is important, so too is an identity created from them being "raced" (Hall, 1992, p.308). As the following interview indicates:

> *J.S: What do Black people have in common?*
> *Toni: Experiences with the white man*
> *Angela: We've all been there.*

Shopping malls were mentioned by many of the Black students as places where they felt watched and stereotyped. This situation was exacerbated because the high schools they attend were in close proximity to malls. This means that there is an increased likelihood of the Black students coming into dispute with mall security as to which areas of the malls they can occupy, and how they occupy those spaces. As with school, the students perceive that the mall security often seek them out as a group to ask them to "move on" or to remove articles of clothing such as jackets or bandannas which signify perceived gang membership and therefore potential violence. This position is illustrated in the following comment:

> *Toni: You're not allowed to wear bandannas in [Wonder Mall], because they say it symbolizes gangs. (individual)*

> *[they'll ask you to move on] We used to hang in the malls, but you get too much trouble now. (individual)*

What Toni suggests is not unique to Black students; youths from other racial, ethnic or socio-economic groups may also be seen as potential troublemakers by their dress or demeanour. We can suggest however, that with Black youths, the process is one of racialization. The signs to which the mall security are responding are associated with Black youth culture, i.e. specific forms of clothing such as bandannas and jackets along side wider societal representations of Black youth as potentially violent.

Semiotic analysis as exemplified in the work of British cultural theorist Dick Hebdige (1979) is useful to understand how these Black youths come to signify and connote signs of threat. This form of analysis highlights how this interaction between mall security and the Black youths is a process of signification. As such, the process illustrates the three characteristics of a "sign" outlined by John Fiske, that "it must have a physical form it must refer to something other than itself, and it must be used and recognized by people as a sign" (1994, p.284).

Both male and female students indicated that if they walked into a store, someone would watch or follow them to ensure they were not stealing. These reactions of mall staff to societal constructions have empirical verification via research undertaken in Nova Scotia and Ontario. In both these differing geographic location Black youths allude to a perception of being watched closely in malls and shops (BLAC Report 1995; James 1990).

Some youths recount experiences of being stopped by the police at night, under the auspices of a being suspected of a crime, for them negative perceptions by the police were often a factor:

> *Malcolm: One time I was pretty much pissed off, I had come from a party and got dropped off and then I hear this car screech to a halt. I felt a hand and this cop putting me into this car. They kept saying, "I know you're lying...." Then they heard over the radio that they had caught the person. They didn't apologize; they just took off the cuffs and let me go. (focus group)*
>
> *Bobby: One time I was walking with a Caucasian girl, and a cop pulled up... beside me and said Are you O.K., miss? Is this guy giving any trouble to you?"*

For a few of the students who are developing a profile with the police the interaction with law enforcers is more ongoing than the *individual* incidents outlined by Bobby and Malcolm. As Eldridge's interview indicated:

> *Seems like the cops always want to blame everything on the Black youth.... The cops are always saying to me [that] I'm in [a gang].... That's stupid cause those guys are always in jail for stupid things they do. (individual)*

Blacks viewed as homogenous

Some students indicated that seeing oneself as a group was not only dependent upon self ascription but also upon how one was viewed by others (Young 1993). Students indicate that they are often viewed by others in and out of school as Black. Further, some cite incidents where they are viewed as phenotypically indistinguishable from other Blacks. When this homogenizing is carried out by teachers the process can be both annoying for students and detrimental for teacher-pupil interaction:

> *We have an administrator who thinks that we all look alike. He calls all of us by the same name. I would love to see him smarten up. The other day I was walking past the office and he saw me and said that "You don't go to the school." I said how did he know, and he said "I know these things." He took me into the office, and He brought in M/s. Rubber, and said "This student doesn't go to this school." She said, "Yes he does," and I said, "Thank you," and got up and left. (Individual)*

In relation to the process of stereotyping, students complained that the teachers and their fellow students had a limited knowledge about countries which were populated by people of

African descent. Students indicated that the two main "countries" that fellow students associated with a Black population were Jamaica or "Africa":

> *Lilieth: They think we are all Jamaicans or African. Every Black person, that's it!*
> *Pearl: Like when you first meet them they think that you are from Jamaica... they say yeah, Jamaica man. [Said with fake Jamaican accent]*
> *Chorus: I read that!*
> *Grace: They feel that they have to act different towards you.... This doesn't relate to school.... Me and my sister we both had braids... We went on a plane, the Captain greets you, and he shakes hands with the passengers. And when we got on he says "Yeah man!" I mean why does he have to say it to us?*
> *Yvonne: I think it's what they see on T.V.*
> *Grace: They feel that they have to distinguish you from everyone else.*
> *Lilieth: I was talking with this guy once and he goes to me "Are you from Jamaica?". And I said "No" and he said Africa, and I said "I am from Guyana", and he says "Aren't Guyanese people white."*
> *Lilieth: No one knows where that is?*
> *Bev: Even Trinidad, I've people say... [where is it]*
> *Yvonne: That's what I found different from Toronto. There are a lot more Black people in Toronto, and they [whites] know where these places are.*

Lack of knowledge about other ethnic groups as outlined above was not unidirectional, and resulted in Black students being prey to the categorizations they accused others of undertaking:

> *It's the same, and of course you are going to get mad, but if I see a Chinese or Japanese whatever, because we have no way of knowing. [I won't be able to tell where they come from]. So of course...[we] are going to get mad but at the same time you can see why they [non Blacks] automatically think you are from Jamaica. (group)*

Several students felt that even though the teachers did not express any open animosity or direct negative verbal comments, they had to try extra hard to prove themselves in order to overcome the stereotype of Blacks as being non-academic:

> *There are stereotypes in society. When Black people come to a class you can already feel that people think that a Black person is slack about classes, and that they'll skip and that they have been into all sorts of trouble.... Teachers have perceptions of Black people and Chinese people.... I'm sure if a Black person did the same work, that the Chinese person would automatically get a higher grade because they are Chinese and teachers expect them to be good. For Black people they [teachers] already have the assumption that they are not too bright, school is not their thing. (Milton, focus group)*

To this point, what the data indicates is the degree to which these students see themselves across lines of geographically based ethnic origins and are developing another aspect of identity derived from their present location. Thus, though Black students may technically be seen as having ethnic identities derived from the Caribbean, Ghana, or Canada they nonetheless have some commonality of social experiences based on racial constructions within society. At times these groups of students find it advantageous to be in a panethnic block based on being "raced" and at other times to mobilize along ethnic lines. As well as the nuances of an "identity-in-formation," contradictions were also apparent among the students. Students in school A mentioned that there were sometimes splits within the Black group between those who saw themselves as Jamaican, and those who regarded themselves as African. It is uncertain as to why this was so, but it underlines the position that being "raced" is not a totally stable category and any theorizations has to account for intersections of class and gender, as well as cultural locations. The interviews indicated this schism, and to some extent support for anti-essentialist arguments:

> *The Africans don't like the Jamaicans and the Jamaicans don't like the Africans.... Any part of Africa, they all stay together, Somalia, Ghana. The only time they came together with us was on the soccer team. (individual school A)*
>
> *A Black person called an African a jungle monkey and it caused trouble (individual school A)*
>
> *I started hanging out with Africans [when I first came to school] then they talk about being Muslim, and [started saying] you Jamaicans this and that.... These [Jamaicans] guys is easier to relate to. (individual school A)*

Students' perceptions

The stories the Black students tell of themselves and their identity is filtered by and reflects on the experiences of other Blacks. These sources of identity are rooted in North America, and the Caribbean in particular and in the Continent of Africa historically. They use a sense of "collective memory" to reflect and interpret their lives, social interactions and their everyday experiences of schooling:

> *Maya: They (non-Blacks) always say "Why should you guys be mad at us for what our ancestors did?"*
>
> *Grace: They are doing that same thing now only its not as noticeable and you can't see it as easily.*
>
> *Zora: When they say that,[I say], "But we're still paying for the image that our ancestors have, we are still paying for that slavery image.... We are still linked to that history, but yet they want to totally forget about theirs. (focus group females school B)*

The Black students under discussion use this sense of collective memory to filter and interpret the Social Studies curriculum. What the narratives about the curriculum reveal is a perceived lack of recognition of the intellectual contributions of Blacks; portrayal of Blacks, homogeneously -- as one cultural group; and a degree of contradictory consciousness even among those students with a radical critique.

Lack of recognition of intellectual contribution

The students view Blacks as having made intellectual contributions to North American society that is not recognized in the curriculum as delivered in the classrooms. As part of the lack of intellectual recognition some students saw the curriculum as portraying Blacks as passive, objects in their social environment:

> *Desmond: I don't like the way it's [Social Studies] taught.... When they talk about Africa, it's either because Africa is being invaded by another country, or [about] apartheid...*
>
> *Bobby: [They] talk about Mandela; they just said that he had been in prison and was now out.*
>
> *Desmond: When they talk about us in social, they talk about us being in chains. They don't talk about how we got out of it what we did for ourselves. (focus group, school A)*

Further, the perspective, and point of reference from which curriculum is taught is also seen as implicated in this process of intellectual negation. Thus for the students who see their identity as Black, the story told about colonization is very much in the language of the colonizers:

> *Bobby: [They] talk about...all these little states in Africa, when they were founded, how the Dutch moved here-there and the French moved here-there but not before that.*
>
> *Malcolm:...They [the French] invaded, but they portray...[them] as heroes...who saved these people. Nobody asked them to save us. I get pretty much pissed off. (focus group, school B)*

Also evident is the way in which representation of Africans serves the role of background, to throw into relief the constructed benevolent qualities of the invading European groups.

Homogenization

For the students, the social experiences of Blacks discussed in the Social Studies curriculum were often homogenized and made simple, as opposed to complex:

> *Why do we have to discuss just slavery? There is a lot more...to Black culture than slavery (student, school A)*

As an example of what this broader conception of culture entailed, students drew on the ancient civilizations of Africa as a source of knowledge. At the same time indicating that knowledge about the intellectual contributions of Africans and Black North Americans need not be confined to the area of Social Studies, but can be developed across the curriculum:

> *Milton: They could even mention it in Mathematics, some of the things that the Egyptians did. Some of the science courses it could come up.... They don't need to say this is what Black people did, but they could name some people and inventions and mention that they were Black.*

For many of these Black students, the critique of the curriculum was based primarily on a recognition that the curriculum has the potential to construct a one-dimensional simplistic reading of Black experience for their fellow students.

There were varying degrees and depth to the knowledge of black experiences that the students in both schools displayed. Some of the students seemed cognizant of the general achievements of Black people with regard to their contributions to mainstream society. Others had a cursory knowledge that they wanted to increase. Both perspectives stated that knowledge about Blacks was inadequately represented in the curriculum. Interestingly even those students who were able to use their Black identity to critique the curriculum sometimes showed signs of a limited vision.

> *I did a Black history project for a show case, and I was going to do Malcolm X, or Martin Luther King. Then my mom suggests "Why don't you do Canadian history? Everyone hears about them [Malcolm X and Martin Luther King] but you don't know nothing about [Canadian history]." I started reading and the stuff was incredible, like Black ranchers, and Amber Valley, and golf. You think of golf as a "White man's sport," [but the] golf tee was invented by a Black person. Elevators, refrigerator. The first refrigerator was invented by a Black person, but it wasn't patented. People don't acknowledge it. (focus group, school B)*

Pedagogy

Also of importance for the students was the issue of pedagogy. In many ways the student's comments concerning the dissemination of the Social Studies curriculum indicate that if the pedagogical style used to deliver the curriculum is rigid, lacks participation, and lacks a degree of critique, then the student response to the lesson is often more negative. Similar to students of other racialized groups, Black students find that a "transmission" approach that identifies knowledge only as information, as "concrete facts" not to be questioned, produces, what the students would term as a "dry" classroom climate. i.e., boring. A dry classroom also prevents students from injecting their own knowledge into the classroom. The following observance by a student illustrates, what for her is an affective pedagogical style:

> *The classes I love are the ones that I get to debate, say your opinion.... Not these classes where you have to sit there and listen to the teachers and if you talk you are in trouble.... Classes should be more participation from the students.... [Sometimes] It's like listening to this dictator up there, and you can't say nothing. (focus group)*

The passivity of some lessons described by Grace indicates a sense of alienation in the classic Freirian sense. The students are very much "objects" rather than "subjects" in the learning process (Sarup 1978). Allowing open-ended responses to assignments, such as project work, was seen by the students as much more beneficial to their learning and provided students in general with an element of choice. More specifically, for a lot of the Black students it provided an opportunity to carry out projects related to Black peoples and their varying social cultures, and experiences. As Zora and Grace indicate in their interview, it is left to the individual student initiative to highlight their ethnic perspective:

> *Zora: You have to do it on your own.*
> *Grace: Right away you have to. In biology we have to choose a disease project, and right away I chose sickle cell anemia.*

What the two girls describe is a degree of flexibility within the curriculum whereby learning is not based purely on acquiring one answer. The importance of this flexible open-ended approach to class assignments is that it allows a broader view of knowledge, and offers students the opportunity to disrupt the flow of a Eurocentric curriculum, with knowledge related to themselves. Though not all students availed themselves of this opportunity, those who were sensitive to the curriculum's dominant European focus, found it a useful strategy.

Disruption of the dominant discourse was not always easy however. One student, Shaka indicates how a challenge to the dominant Eurocentric paradigm can be regarded as a threat to the general consensus of the classroom. He describes vividly, how he was regarded negatively by some of his classmates for requesting to have more lessons related to Black experiences:

> *Last year, I had a teacher for Social, and I said let's do something about Black people and he got mad at me. And all these people [classmates] were saying I hate teachers...and that I am a racist because I asked for a class on Black stuff. (focus group)*

Students were aware of the salient dominance of specific groups within the curriculum, and the ways in which this constructed their own interests as "against the grain" of consensus and the "reified collective good":

> *Grace: We shouldn't have to learn all our history on our own time.*
> *Yvonne: I shouldn't have to go after school to learn about my history...They [Whites] don't have to go after school to learn their history.... I remember during Black history month you were asked to do the [presentation] thing, yeah, And you couldn't.*
> *Grace: Yeah I didn't feel that I knew enough.*
> *Yvonne: That's pretty down why do you have to learn about somebody else's culture if you are not getting a chance to learn yours.*
> *Grace: I have to go home and study and study so I can pass about someone else's culture and maybe if I have five minutes before I go to sleep I can read some other book. Last year I had so much more time to read but this year I feel as though I haven't learned anything about what I want to learn. I think it's shameful. (focus group)*

Conclusion

Thus the story these Black students tell themselves, about historical experiences of Africans and those of African descent, is different from the story told under the guise of the Social Studies curriculum. It is the simple story version. The story lacks the necessary problematizing of the knowledge content of the Eurocentric canon in order to indicate the intellectual contributions and the social complexity of the lives of Black people.

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Internal Supply Policy

Sheri Long

The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of the policy of Internal Supply instituted at one school within the Edmonton Public School System, over a three-year period. The impact of this internal supply policy was examined in relation to:

- teacher absenteeism
- cost savings
- teacher morale

This study focuses on the only school in this jurisdiction which has had the opportunity to implement a new policy and set of procedures concerning short-term teacher absence (one day only). This policy is known as "Internal Supply". The internal supply program allows the school to fill short term teacher absences (one day only) with internal, on-staff teachers.

The data for this study were generated from the available information provided by the school as well as the Edmonton Public School System. The data were grouped in order to facilitate the criteria - driven analysis. Literature related to teacher absenteeism was also reviewed by the researcher. This literature includes related policies, practices and procedures designed and currently implemented for reducing teacher absenteeism.

The data were analysed to produce year-by-year comparisons. This analysis made it possible to discern the influence of the internal supply policy on teacher absenteeism. Data was also analyzed to assess teachers' perceptions regarding the effect that this policy has had on teacher absenteeism and cost saving. Although all teachers at this school recognized a reduction in teacher absenteeism, there were misgivings (intangible) concerning the effect on teacher/staff morale versus the financial savings.

As an overview, this study has determined that the implementation on the Internal Supply Policy did indeed influence teacher absenteeism dramatically, in the first year. It was also clear that the implementation of the Internal Supply policy has provided the School with significant financial savings, which were used for remedial programs.

BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

Teacher absenteeism is an important topic in educational policy; it has a large financial impact with high quantitative (dollar) and qualitative (results) costs. The quantitative costs becomes even larger when both the "hard" costs and "soft" impacts like substitute teacher salaries plus the "effect" to the student in reduced quality/continuity of instruction is included.

Teacher absenteeism in the Edmonton Public School System for 1992 - 1993 averaged over 11 days per teacher, with an estimated annual cost of $18,000,000. To date, only one Edmonton Public School has implemented a trial policy concerning short-term, one day only, teacher absence. The policy has come to be known as "Internal Supply". The policy addresses short-term "one day only" absences, with other staff members in the school filling in for the absent teacher rather than a substitute teacher being hired by the school board.

Based on a review of literature an internal supply policy should have the following effects:

1. This policy should reduce teacher absenteeism for a variety of reasons:

1. Teaching at this school has become a highly interdependent job. According to Jacobson (1990), these types of jobs foster high attendance rates given that any one worker's absence increases the workload of co-workers.
2. The staff supports the policy, through a majority vote.
3. Staff awareness about absenteeism has increased as each staff member must be aware because each member must check to see who is absent.

2. This policy should reduce the financial costs of teacher absenteeism:

1. The costs of a supply teacher are saved.
2. Absenteeism in general should decrease.
3. Staff has become more aware of the absenteeism policy.
4. School-based budgeting, absences of longer than 3 days require Doctors notification but more importantly to the school's financial savings, these lengthy absences' costs are covered by the school system rather than the individual school's budget.

3. This policy should reduce 'other' non-financial costs:

1. All of the teachers, when they are covering a colleague's class, 'know' most of the students, not to mention the school's various policies. Therefore classroom management and expectations of the teacher are much more easily met with agreement and compliance.

4. This policy should reinforce the Edmonton Public Schools structured absence procedure and attendance policy.

1. Edmonton Public School requires all teachers to record their absences through the telephone system. Under the new internal supply policy, absences are recorded exactly the same way, except the option of "no supply teacher needed" is chosen. It is worth noting that the implementation of the telephone reporting system in itself lowered absentee rates because of the perceived difficulty in using the system.

FINDINGS

OBJECTIVE #1 - TEACHER ABSENTEEISM OBSERVATIONS

*** Actual Days Absent**

1. The first year of Implementation, 1993-94 - the number of days absent by this staff was reduced by 28 %.

*** Days Absent - requiring versus not requiring a supply teacher**

1. During the first year of implementation, 1993-94, the number of days absent that required a supply teacher dropped by 54%.

*** Days Absent - no supply teacher required**

1. During the first year of implementation, 1993-94 -

a) the number of days that did not require a supply teacher rose by 1600%. This is expected as the Internal Supply Policy replaces some of the need for external supply teachers.

b) the number of absences not requiring a supply represented 37% of total staff absences. Prior to implementation the no supply required absences represented only 2% of staff absences.

*** Days Absent - males versus females**

1. It is significant to note that in all three years, there were significantly more absences by males even in terms of their representation on staff, than absences by females

*** Days Absent by Age and Gender**

1. The majority of absences for staff in general are in the oldest age category. This is the same trend for male absences as the majority of male staff is also in this age category.

- Finally the majority female absences are in the same age category that the majority of female staff are in.

-Has the Internal Supply Policy had an effect on the individuals in certain age categories? If so, what is this effect?

OBJECTIVE #2 - FINANCIAL SAVINGS OBSERVATIONS

*** Overall Costs of Teacher Absenteeism**

1. Supply expenditures have dropped by 60 %, since the implementation of Internal Supply.
2. Although there seems to be no specific guideline to follow for supply cost allocation, the general trend at this school was to budget $1000 for each teaching staff, or about eight (8) days of absence per staff member. With the Internal Supply Policy the amount of $10, 000 was decided upon by the Principal, after reviewing absentee trends at this school, for first day absences.

*** First Year, 1993-1994, Internal Supply Policy Budget versus Actual**

1. It should be noted that 1993-94 expenditures on supply teachers exceeded the forecast budget allocation. Had there not been savings available from another budget area (utilities), the cost of internal supply would have exceeded the annual budgeted funds by 93%.
2. The first year of Implementation, 1993-94, did see a reduction in supply costs and expenditures of 60%.

1. Calculating Costs

Within the Edmonton Public School system, there are two different supply cost systems. The first is at the School level, and this supply cost covers 1 and up to 3 days of absence. After 3 days of absence the cost switches to the District level. Absenteeism of three days and less, is also monitored at the School level by the principal, and over three days at the District level and by the Personnel Department.

Therefore individual schools calculate and budget for absences of three days and under, and the District calculates and budgets for absences of over three days. Neither of these branches include in their calculation of supply costs the salary of the absent teacher (same for all absent staff). What about including the costs of benefits, etc.? This is not included for either the replacement staff nor the absent staff.

If teacher (staff) absenteeism is looked at in through the specific costs of, absent teacher (staff) salary and benefits and the cost of supply (staff) teacher and benefits, these costs becomes astronomical!

2. Data - Monitoring Teacher Attendance and Teacher Absenteeism

As above, there are two branches within the Edmonton Public School System that monitor teacher (staff) absenteeism. This is based on the three day rule. Under three days, the responsibility lies with the Associate Superintendents who are responsible for an area with specific schools. They in turn, leave the specific monitoring of, handling of, problems, programs and policies to the Principal at each individual school. Just as well, as of June 1995, there are no longer Associate Superintendents.

Over three days absence the monitoring, programs, policies and intervention, lies with the District Department of Supply Services and the Personnel Department. When considering obtaining accurate data, there are many different branches and areas of responsibilities to deal with.

3. Utilization of the Present Absence Monitoring System

Presently, the reporting of an absence is done through a computerized phone system. The implementation of this system originally lowered teacher absenteeism in general. The rate have returned to normal, but it is vitally important that this system be utilized by all, whether supply teacher is needed or not in order to keep effective records not to mention the allocation of funds to schools on Internal Supply.

OBJECTIVE #3 - TEACHER/STAFF MORALE OBSERVATIONS

Individual Internal Supply Questionnaire

1. The response rate was lower than expected. Although this survey was voluntary it was hand-delivered to the staff, and explained during one of the last staff meetings in June of 1994. Perhaps the attention rates were not that high then, as well as it required staff input.

2. Of the staff that did respond, 95% thought that the Internal Supply policy would reduce absenteeism at this school. As for their reasoning for this drop, the majority said that staff would not want to "impose" on others.

3. Eighty-six percent of staff felt that this policy would save our school money. The perceived reason for this by staff, was teacher awareness about absenteeism and less money to supply teachers.

4. This survey also provided the staff with a vehicle to raise issues and concerns about this policy. All staff that responded raised issues and concerns.

5. This survey asked staff to recollect how many times (individual periods) they needed to cover on Internal Supply. Most could not accurately recall.

6. This survey also attempted to illuminate the reasons behind teacher absence. Although the findings are inconclusive some generalizations did emerge. Of the teachers that responded the majority of absences were due to in descending order; personal illness, medical/dental appointments, children's illnesses and children's' appointments and day-care concerns. Any program or policy that attempts to lower teacher absenteeism must first discern the reasons for absence, and then design programs to alleviate the causes.

7. This survey also investigated what went on during the Internal Supply Coverage Periods, from two perspectives. The perspectives concerned, lesson plans that were left for you as the Internal Supply and lesson plans that 'you' left for the Internal Supply person. A pattern emerged. The majority of Internal Supply periods were designated study periods, if any plans were left at all. Staff also felt that leaving specific plans included the plan of a study period. This may be a result of teacher's perceptions that Internal Supply coverage was just covering a class rather than teaching one. When staff agreed to continue with the policy for the second year, it was apparent that staff wanted further guidelines. The Principal responded and at a staff meeting explained the expectations and absence policy as outlined in the Teacher Handbook. These include, lesson plans and class lists. Still, there are adequate plans and instructions left only occasionally. A Supply teacher would receive more instructions. There are still many glitches but no real external structure to deal with them.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation One - Clearly Stated Objectives

In order for a policy like Internal Supply to be successful, it must have clearly stated objectives - agreed by all and documented. The policy of Internal Supply at this school did not achieve an actual reduction in teacher absenteeism. Partially, at least, this failure resulted from the failure to clearly state and seek compliance with the objectives, quite possibly because this fundamental rule/principle was not practised.

Teacher absenteeism saw a reduction in year 1 but dramatically increased in year 2 (one might wonder what year 3 brings - a further increase or another reduction?).

Recommendation Two - Structure

A policy like this must be very structured. There should be a monitoring committee to evaluate and adjust the policy based on its effectiveness and its accomplishment of the stated objectives.

When problems or concerns arise, there must be some structure in place to address concerns. For example, there are certain days that staff seem to be absent more than others. Is this due to a poor teaching schedule or other identifiable events. Another example is that, at times, there is inadequate plans, class lists, or coverage. Staff forget, or are not prepared. There was no central authority for this policy until an individual staff member volunteered to assist. There were Administration lapses as they also had Internal Supply coverage periods, particularly in the homeroom period. The second year of implementation saw many structures and expectations introduced with some evaluation or follow - up.

Recommendation Three - Ongoing Education & Communication

Knowledge builds understanding and empathy. In order to combat the potential negative effects of this policy on staff morale, staff awareness is key. Staff need to feel that their concerns about other staff are acceptable, and that there are (or can/will be) policies and practices put in place to deal fairly with concerns that arise.

Recommendation Four - Maximise versus Minimise

Rather than focus on the negative, accentuate the positive! Less is not, necessarily negative...develop strategies and implement programs to maximise teacher attendance. These could range from an incentive based program of time-off for good attendance through to a major organisational restructuring such as a four (4) day work week.

There is absolutely no doubt that with the financial and non-financial issues at stake, teacher absenteeism is an area of significant opportunity for change.

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Woman As Genre

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In many mythologies, stories of the Triple Goddess exist "as the three Fates, rulers of the past, present, and future in the usual *personae* of Virgin, Mother, and Crone (or Creator, Preserver, Destroyer)" (Walker, 302). The Moerae, the Greek manifestation of this trinity, were weavers: Clotho the spinner, Lachesis the Measurer, and Atropos the Cutter of life's thread. Thus the female was seen as both the source and the destroyer of life; in her hands was one's fate. During the Middle Ages, the Fates became synonymous with fairies. People appeased them by setting out gifts of food and drink along with three knives for cutting their meat so the Cutter would not be tempted to use her own knife and thus bring death to the house. The Greeks also believed these Fates visited the cradle of every newborn and, to ensure good fortune for the child, the parents had to take care not to annoy the Fairy Godmother. Sleeping Beauty's parents, for instance, make the mistake of not inviting one of the Fairy Godmothers to her christening and the angry fairy casts a spell whereupon the virgin (Clotho, Beauty) pricks her finger on the spindle and falls into a deep sleep. Such a story, however, shadows the shift from a time when the importance of the female in creation and the ordering of life was acknowledged to a privileging of patriarchy. In *Sleeping Beauty,* the fairy godmother determines Beauty's fate, but only for a certain length of time after which the enchantment is broken by the male kiss.

Threads of change are also evident in Barbara Walker's description of how Aphrodite's trinity was sometimes divided into Order, Destiny, and Peace. She notes that "[t]hese referred to the 'ordering' of elements to form the individual; the destiny established for him by the Mother; and the 'peace of dissolution as decreed at the end of life by Aphrodite... " (302). Even though each aspect of the trinity has distinct and important functions, they are ultimately conflated with "Mother." In Western culture, such a conflation has evolved to where "woman" is identified with both femininity and maternity and, as Luce Irigaray insists, femininity allows patriarchy to cover over the experience of women and mothers. "The law of the father needed femininity--a replica of woman--in order to take the upper hand over the mother's passion, as well as the woman's pleasure" (cited in Oliver, 132, from *Marine Lover, 97*).

Irigaray finds another source for the shifting of women's position in Plato's myth of the cavern. Plato describes the cave as a womb where Socrates, acting as midwife, uses his maieutic methods to assist into birth the knowledge of truth. For Irigaray, this story is a fantasized copulation between the mother and father that attempts to remove the mother. "The effect is that the male function takes over and incorporates all the female function, leaving women outside the scene, but supporting it, a condition of representation" (Whitford, 1991a, 106). Plato's analogy progresses from the dark cavern where reflections and echoes of the world flicker to the world itself and then beyond to the realm of Ideas and truth. In three scenes, the cave (Mother) is separated from Ideas (Father) with no possibility of commingling since the world fills the middle space and prevents their intercourse. Irigaray suggests that since "relations between Mother and Father have been rendered impossible by the metaphor... [t]ruth has come to mean leaving behind the Mother (the cavern) and her role in the reproduction" (Whitford, 110).

Italo Calvino explores a return to the cave in "The Adventure of a Poet." The story opens with two people described as "Usnelli, a fairly well-known poet" and "Delia H., a very beautiful woman" (103) who are approaching an island in a rubber canoe. Usnelli is paddling while Delia is stretched out "taking the sun" as they travel through the sea water, a transparent screen with its "sharp, limpid blue, penetrated to its depths by the sun's rays" (103). As they draw near the island, Usnelli comments on the silence that can be heard. He cannot distinguish language and cannot discern meaning, but what he hears is the babble of the island world: the rustle of vegetation, animal calls, bird wings. Delia revels in this world as she lies in the boat speaking "with constant ecstasy about everything she was seeing" (103) while Usnelli tries to push away the sensations. "He, distrustful (by nature and through his literary education) of emotions and words already the property of others, accustomed more to discovering hidden and spurious beauties than those that were evident and indisputable, was still nervous and tense" (104). For Usnelli, every flash of blue water or shadow of a fish's fin, points to something higher, farther away, "a different planet or new word" (p. 104).

They paddle into a grotto which begins as a spacious, interior lake, but becomes a narrow dark passage, a metaphoric return through the birth canal. Usnelli watches the reflecting light and sees that

> The light from outside, through the jagged aperture, dazzled with colors made more vivid by the contrast. The water, there, sparkled, and the shafts of light ricocheted upwards, in conflict with the soft shadows that spread from the rear. Reflections and glints communicated also to the rock walls and the vault the instability of the water. (104)

He finds that he is speechless, nervous, and unable to translate any of his sensations into words while Delia calls out and discovers with delight the echo in the cave. She tells Usnelli: "You too! You shout too! Make a wish!" (105), but he is only able to say "Hoooo" and "Heeey" and "Echoooo" while Delia shouts words, invocations, and lines of verse. The cave becomes a creative power for her even as it robs Usnelli of his linguistic prowess. As they continue, the darkness deepens along with Usnelli's fear and confusion that also become Delia's as Usenelli realizes that for him "any taste for the horrid was alien" (105). They agree to turn back, aborting their journey, and returning to the edge of the cave where it opens onto the sea. They linger at this boundary while Delia goes for a swim. As she moves through the water where Usnelli can see her, she returns to being a fantasy creature for him: "her body at times seemed white (as if that light stripped it of any color of its own) and sometimes as blue as that screen of water" (105). Delia's function, to Usnelli, becomes one of representing that which is outside discourse. "For him, being in love with Delia had always been like this, as in the mirror of this cavern: in a world beyond words" (105). When Delia slips off her bathing suit, her body gives off a "pale blue glow, like a medusa" (106), the "Destroyer" of the Triple Goddess, a veiled character who could turn men to stone, a dangerous and mysterious woman. But Medusa was also an ancient symbol of divine female wisdom (Walker, 629) and it seems Delia has returned from the dark centre of the cave wiser. She moves through the water at times like a fetus, sometimes as the mysterious Medusa, and sometimes as a seductress. Usnelli, watching her, realizes that what he is seeing is beyond language, he becomes "all eyes," the gaze.

> He understood that what life now gave him was something not everyone has the privilege of looking at, open-eyed, as at the most dazzling core of the sun. And in the core of this sun was silence. Nothing that was there at this moment could be translated into anything else, perhaps not even into memory. (106)

The arrival of some local fishermen interrupts Delia's water dance and serves to break the spell of the cavern. Delia and Usnelli are now "in" the world with its smells, noises, and earthiness where Delia enjoys talking to the fisherman, but Usnelli does not.

> Usnelli remained silent, but this anguish of the human world was the contrary of what the beauty of nature had been communicating to him a little earlier: there every word failed, while here there was a turmoil of words that crowded into his mind. (107)

As they reach shore, the noise and confusion and sensations of the fishing village bombard Usnelli and he realizes, as the words flow thicker until there is no space between lines and even the tiniest white spaces disappear, that there is no returning to his realm of poetic ideals, that by travelling to the cave, he has lost the orderly distance of language until "only the black remained, the most total black, impenetrable, desperate as a scream" (108). There is nothing productive or reproductive possible; the intercourse between the mother and father is prevented because the world intervenes between the earthy, sensual darkness of the cave and the brilliant realm of Ideas. The father-poet can no longer produce or reproduce. He is impotent.

The reader can only speculate about Delia; somehow she is left chatting with the local inhabitants amidst their dried reddish seaweed and gasping fish, "the gills still throbbing displayed, below, a red triangle of blood" (107) because this is a story, after all, of the male poet. Other stories, told by women, see the cave as a place of regeneration and rebirth. A place to reimagine and to be creatively energized. Gilbert and Guber suggest this comparison:

> Where the traditional male hero makes his "night sea journey" to the center of the earth, the bottom of the mere, the belly of the whale, to slay or be slain by the dragons of darkness, the female artist makes her journey into what Adrienne Rich has called "the cratered night of female memory" to revitalize the darkness, to retrieve what has been lost, to regenerate, reconceive, and give birth. (99)

That women may see caves as places symbolically rich with possibility became clearer when I worked with a group of seven high school girls in an extracurricular writing group. I began one of our writing sessions by reading aloud Lorna Crozier's poem "The Swimming Pool" and then asking the group to write in response for fifteen minutes. In the first two stanzas of the poem imagery of the cave is recalled:

> I used to be such/ a swimmer, surface diving/ to the loud blue hum around the grates,/ following the lines and cracks/ that led to a cave I could/ never find the entrance to
>
> There was a/ birth-gleam all over me,/ a loss of language, my mouth/ an anemone that opened, closed,/ my sex unfurling in the broken/ light that stroked me underwater.
>
> (62)

Crozier's narrator never does find the cave, but the water, which seemingly springs from the cave, births her into sexuality, an experience for which she has no words. When the narrator swims at night, a strange boy joins her and they explore each other's bodies silently in the darkness. The sense of metamorphosis in this poem cannot happen through language, but only through this physical exploration bathed in water with a boy who may or may not really exist. The narrator speaks with a sense of fantasy that make the whole experience mystical and often beyond language.

Alexis, one of the young women in the writing research group, wrote in her response:

> I could never/ find a man/ that moves with/ me as water does. Is that wrong/ water/ it sends shivers of comfort/ up my spine/ not of ecstasy/ of oneness/ the feat/ we're always/ trying to achieve/ so come and/ join me in/ the water/ it is not the body/ of water/ just as it is not your body/ Not the body, the water itself.

Like Delia and the narrator in "The Swimmer," Alexis imagines the transformational possibilities of water like the amniotic fluid of the womb. Her narrator fantasizes that the water will become one with her, complete her and make her part of the Real with an utter sense of wholeness. She realizes that a man could never fulfill her in the same way and there is a guilty aside--a question to the symbolic order perhaps-- "Is that wrong". She resists the male fantasy figure in the poem, and instead, invites someone else into the water although it is not clear who that someone is. Is it a man who she wants to experience the unity of the water? Or perhaps it is another woman? The text ends too soon for me to understand who the speaker is inviting; however, she/he/ it is asked to not differentiate bodies but to become one with the water just as the narrator is imagining for herself. Alexis wrote this piece as a first draft response and, at least during our time together, did not write anymore about this. Nevertheless, she writes about a sense of connection and comfort in the water that connects to the imagery of other women writers.

Ayelha wrote a short prose piece for her response to the poem:

> Eyes bright and blue like the pools of the sea. Blue like the sky at the birth of spring, soft, delicate and clear. Through the forest, darkness comes about. As I walk along the soft dirt path, the thundering sound of leaves crunches beneath my feet. The sound leads me to a pitch black cave. My heart is breaking in remembrance of the boy I met that day. Crawling on my hands and knees, I enter the warm and protected cave. The summer fresh air enters my lungs it feels so cold. I look up and realize that the earth around me is spinning. I force a sound from my mouth but I am at a loss for words. I notice some small clumps of grass near the entrance of the cave. The sharp blades tickle my soft hands, happiness overcomes my fear. The night is rapidly approaching. Cool winds send me running out of the forest. The moonlight guides my way. I hear faint whispers as I run. For a brief moment I feel the presence of the boy I truly love, but it turned out to be the wind whipping by. Coming out of the forest leaves me unprotected. I feel the wings of the mothering bird let me go. Sadly

> my eyes fill with tears, they fall like perfect raindrops from the sky. Smashing into my hands with an echoing sadness. I tumble to my knees in the blackness of the night.

Unlike the previous poems, Ayelha's narrator finds the cave in a journey reminiscent of Delia's travel. Her eyes are compared to the sea with blue like the colour the spring sky at its birth and similar to the clear blue of the water that Delia and Usnelli discover. Like them, she also moves from light into darkness as she enters the cave. However, where Delia found a voice in the cave, this young woman is speechless, her senses heightened by what she discovers there. She has come to the cave to find some way of connecting with a boy she has met, but finds that such a thing cannot happen in this place. She is sent away from the cave by the cool winds, being reborn as she runs through the dark forest until she is left outside the protection, alone and lonely in the awareness that her dreams of a relationship are unrealized. Even so, she believes the cave to be a place of warmth and protection, a touchstone, home ground. What becomes an important question for me is whether the cave is only a scene of withdrawal, a place where women can "retreat" from the world without changing or taking on the world. Is it possible that the cave could be a cunning and seductive trap to keep women inside the outside, on the margins? I wonder if women's imagining a return to the cave, to the enriched birth-waters, is a desire that can never be fulfilled. A desire for a place where they feel a sense of wholeness and belonging that does not exist for them in the world.

Irigaray does not advocate a reversal of direction for women, a return to or remaining in the cave. Her consideration of Plato's story is a search for understanding how women came to be excluded from the Symbolic Order, how they became object to the male subject. To rediscover the cave, to imagine one's return is perhaps to dwell in the nostalgic, a desire for something forever lost. Kelly Oliver writes that "Nostalgia for the mother is a longing for an impossible return to the peace of the maternal womb, a return to the earth" (161). If we cannot return to the cave/ womb, then, are women's stories of the cave a fantasy of futility? An endless writing of longing that reproduces shadows? I think, instead, that our cave stories can be places of regeneration where women discover some sense of protection and possibility; where they can discover a lost symbolic to bring forward into the world. The important decision is not to remain and dwell in nostalgia of such imagery, but to gather its strength and move forward.

Irigaray begins to suggest ways of change for women through metaphors of the elements: space, thresholds, fluids, fire and water, air and earth. These metaphors do not exclude the cave, but rather suggest multiple possibilities that could be called upon. Irigaray's concern is with finding representations of women in which women can find themselves or with which they could identify, a female genre. In literary terms, genre mediates between singular texts and their status as members of some class. As Elizabeth Hirsh points out, for Irigaray this means that "women among themselves call woman into being, and the mediating category woman permits this exchange" (118). Irigaray's most powerful and most criticized image--the "two lips"--metaphorically represents these voices of women. The two lips can also function as a metonym, recalling the female body or as an image of female sexuality. Whitford also suggests that the two lips could be seen as contiguity between the mother-daughter relationship or the parental intercourse. Irigaray herself dismisses the recourse to anatomy or nature since women clearly have more than one pair of lips. She suggests, rather, that "it means to open up the autological and tautological circle of systems of representation and their discourse so that women may speak (of) their sex" (cited in Whitford, 1991b, 101). Women speaking woman into being.

> Open your lips; don't open them simply. I don't open them simply. We--you/I--are neither open nor closed. We never separate simply: *a single word* cannot be pronounced, produced, uttered by our mouths. Between our lips, yours and mine, several voices, several ways of speaking resound endlessly, back and forth. One is never separable from the other. You/I: we are always several at once. And how could one dominate the other? impose her voice, her tone, her meaning? One cannot be distinguished from the other; which does not mean that they are indistinct. (Irigaray, 1985, 209)

The cave
The dark

she finds herself unable to speak her mouth opens and closes like a shutter banging
in the wind
she touches slick moisture seeping from walls her fingers poke the cracks
hoping for space to wiggle through
she blinks blackness peering for one ray of light a click of fear in her breath
echoes in moist thickness
she waits for panic to shake her to her knees but hears a trickle of water
touches salt to her lips
she follows the flow beneath her hand the gush over her arms a stream deepens
as she swims away

no longer fears forgets
her longing for light

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Fostering a Global Conscience Through Student Social Justice Activism

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Educators at all levels are experiencing mounting pressures from a multitude of sources. Under the guise of fiscal restraint in a cutback climate for public education and other social programs, the ultra-conservative right has enjoyed an unprecedented resurgence in recent years. This has imposed serious challenges to teachers who seek to address issues of social justice. Apple's (1993) recent documentation of a similar trend in the American scene might serve as a prophetic warning of particular pertinence to Alberta teachers.

Particularly troubling for teachers is the recent plague of ultra-conservative politicians and media pundits warning us that Canada's youth are a lost generation. Once confined mainly to the blatantly youth-bashing editors of the Alberta Report, this ageist vitriol now appears regularly on the editorial pages of most of Canada's daily newspapers. I believe this is just one of the prices Canadians are paying for Conrad Black's suffocating media monopoly. It is against this backdrop, Roman (1996) recognizes, that youth in contemporary society have become

> the subjects of consternation, outrage, concern, explanation, and, not inconsequentially, commodification and appropriation. Whether vilified or applauded, philanthropized or harassed, jailed or held out as the hope for the future, they are... in a public debate which simultaneously makes them visible as spectacle and inaudible as voice. (p. 21)

Despite this hostile public climate, I am nonetheless convinced that youth voices can be heard with some concerted effort by educators and educational researchers. My optimism in this regard is based on a decade of direct involvement with a dynamic student activist program in Alberta. In my doctoral research, still in its early stages, I will seek to explore the uniquely Canadian dimensions of the body of literature on social justice pedagogy and youth activism.

There are few documented accounts of student activism in general, and particularly in Canadian schools. A few exceptions are Berlin and Alladin's (1996) account of work at Kipling Collegiate Institute in Ontario, and Cogan and Ramsankar's (1994) summary of Alex Taylor Community School here in Edmonton. By identifying, researching, and sharing insights with other successful youth action efforts, I will continue the vital collaborative efforts necessary to forge proactive coalitions between Canadian educational researchers and practitioners.

Origins of the STOP Program

The committed students whose efforts define the Students and Teachers Opposing Prejudice (STOP) program demonstrate daily the admirable qualities of altruism and responsible global citizenship. This ongoing project, described in more detail elsewhere (Lund, 1993), shows that young people can readily accept diversity, and that voluntary social justice activism is a highly effective means of challenging racism and discrimination in schools, while fostering a global conscience and political awareness in students.

Since it formed spontaneously in one of my "non-academic" English classes in early 1987, the STOP program at Lindsay Thurber Comprehensive High School in Red Deer, Alberta, has become something of a model in the youth social justice movement in Canada. It has garnered several national awards, including a 1993 "Canadian Student Human Rights Achievement Award" from the League for Human Rights of B'Nai Brith Canada, a 1991 "Multicultural Leadership Award" from the CCMIE, as well as two "Together We're Better" awards from the Department of Canadian Heritage.

Below I highlight some of the group's activities and accomplishments, with particular attention to national and international issues, as a potential model of how educators might foster a sense of global responsibility in their students. While shaping the efforts of this student-driven project, I have attended to what Said (1994) warns about any efforts to address diversity; one must avoid adopting an "Orientalizing" stance--one which fixes the "other" as different and perpetually apart from, and inferior to, the tacitly accepted norm. This is particularly cogent to the social context in Central Alberta, where the relatively homogeneous cultural milieu represents an unquestioned standard of normalcy.

Local and Provincial Political Action

To this end, STOP's efforts have entailed a continued focus on political activism at several levels. I consider what the group does as a form of engaged empathetic activism, much in the spirit of hooks (1994) and Giroux (1996). Both of these academics/activists seek to engage their students in a form of "radical democracy" in which they interrogate hierarchies and inequities which are part of the status quo, first within their own school and community contexts. Following this approach, STOP student members are invited to learn more about Alberta's official government policies and various agencies charged with protecting the rights of citizens, both through education and legislation. This has proved to be a rich source of interactive learning in recent years, as group members have written letters to government leaders, and presented submissions to government panels.

Awareness campaigns on contemporary social and political issues have been directed at the students' own peers and other members of the community. STOP has acquired a permanent display case in the school for use in promoting special events and relevant issues. As a part of a Human Rights Awareness Week a few years ago, STOP members drafted a proclamation declaring December 10 to be International Human Rights Day for the first time ever in Red Deer. It was signed by the mayor at a city council meeting, an appropriate highlight to a week which had featured a forum of over 300 students with three guest speakers and a drama presentation, and daily noon hour meetings including guests including anti-racist skinheads from S.H.A.R.P. (Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice), the national president of the World Sikh Organization, a caretaker at the school who is a former university professor from Iran, and Fil Fraser, then chair of the Alberta Human Rights Commission.

The following school year STOP members were honoured to attend another city council meeting at which Red Deer's new mayor proclaimed March 21 as the International Day to Eliminate Racism and Discrimination. Though largely symbolic, the proclamation represents the students' collective desire for political engagement and successfully getting the adult community involved in their efforts. Both of these actions are particularly significant steps for a community which continues to languish in the national spotlight for racist extremism.

Countering Extremism Through Education

Here, I refer specifically to two events which drew the media's glare to Central Alberta: the 1985 trial convicting Jim Keegstra of teaching hatred against the Jews took place in a Red Deer courthouse; and within a few years, an Alberta Human Rights Tribunal ruled against the white supremacist Aryan Nation's Canadian leader, Terry Long. He was convicted of promoting hatred through a long-running classified advertisement in the Red Deer Advocate newspaper. Not incidentally, both Keegstra and Long have solicited meetings with the STOP group to discuss ideology, and have sent much of their odious propaganda, but STOP has steadfastly refused to honour them with a response or an audience.

Back when the national head of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre travelled to Red Deer in 1989 to present STOP with the "Courage to Remember" 40-poster series, the response from the extremist fringe was immediate. Long made the front page of the Advocate decrying the Holocaust as a hoax, while a blurb on the national award was relegated to page two of the local section. Meanwhile, numerous cars in the school parking lot were littered with Aryan Nations brochures and STOP continued to receive revisionist "historical" evidence and pseudo-scientific studies in the mail.

To contribute a valuable resource to the community, the STOP group had the poster series mounted and laminated, and donated them to the school district for use by any teachers or members of the community who request them. Growing student interested in exploring this dark period in human history has led STOP to organize an annual Holocaust Awareness Symposium. For the past three years, survivors of Nazi concentration camps have spoken to hundreds of grade 12 students in Central Alberta, an invaluable interaction with living primary sources of international history.

Over the years STOP has invited numerous other people to speak on issues such as mental health, native issues, world development, human rights legislation, women and poverty, discrimination based on sexual orientation, torture and human rights violations, refugee and immigration issues, world peace, public health, and physical and mental disabilities. Guest speakers have been diverse, coming from the ranks of government representatives, committee chairs, community volunteers, Native elders, torture victims, people with visual, hearing, and mental disabilities, exchange students, political activists, and many others.

Spontaneous Social Action

Frequently students will discuss a particular controversial issue at the weekly meetings and decide to take specific action. This is one way I tried to fulfil the advice to teachers by Apple (1993) to "struggle to make each single experience as personally meaningful and politically powerful as we can especially in a time of a powerful conservative agenda" (p. 150). For example, in the early 1990s Alberta premier Don Getty made inflammatory statements against Canada's official policies of bilingualism and multiculturalism. When Red Deer North M.L.A. Stockwell Day supported Getty's stand, STOP members penned letters to both of their offices as well as various newspaper editorial columns. Day arranged a visit to a STOP meeting during which he presented his views to the group while the students got some first-hand experience with political debate.

STOP's mandate is to educate rather than confront, yet it seems counter-educational to restrain the students from becoming embroiled in hot issues. For example, when a Sikh man, chairman of the provincial Liberal party, was denied entry into a Red Deer Royal Canadian Legion meeting room because he was wearing "headgear" in the form of a turban, students in STOP chose to take action. Youth were learning, as Giroux (1996) argues they must, "the basis for collective learning, civic action, and ethical responsibility. Moreover, such agency emerges through a pedagogy of lived experience and struggle" (p. 129). So rather than staging a public protest in front of the offending legion hall, students wrote letters to the parties involved and the local newspaper. They also invited the victim, Ram Chahal, to address a gathering of students at the school to explain the Sikh religion and customs.

STOP also responded to a statement from Dianne Mirosh to abolish the Alberta Human Rights Commission, with a well-reasoned retort which made the Edmonton Sun's "Letter of the Week." The political fortunes continued to take a sharp turn to the right in this province, and in 1994, members of the group decided to submit a written brief to the Alberta Human Rights Review Panel. They have also lobbied provincial politicians specifically for changes to the Individual's Rights Protection Act. Last year, the group engaged in a public debate, later aired on CBC radio, with Alberta's Minister of Social Services on the province's continuing refusal to ratify the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Thinking and Acting Globally

These local and provincial arenas of political awareness and action have built upon other national and international avenues for making a positive impact. For example STOP has, since its inception, supported Amnesty International, sending hundreds of letters to government leaders around the world requesting the release of prisoners of conscience. Specific letter writing and public awareness campaigns have supported the rights of children, drawn attention to injustices against women and aboriginal peoples, and addressed other horrific abuses taking place in Serbia and Rwanda, for example.

Perhaps STOP's most popular fundraising event is an alternative music concert to support the decade-long sponsorship of a child in Honduras through Plan International (formerly Foster Parents Plan). Each year several very loud rock bands volunteer their time and talent to "Jam for Jhessyca." It is a cacophonous display of youth energy which involves hundreds of students, many of whose interests are often devalued in a school environment. Of course, it also serves a broader purpose as a creative and respectful engagement with a family and community outside of Canada.

Other national and international involvements over the years have included membership in, and financial support for organizations like Canadians Against Apartheid, Canadian Centre for Victims of Torture, Tools for Peace, Canadian Peace Alliance, Youth Peace Network, Alliance for Non-Violent Action, Japanese Canadian Citizens Association Redress Committee, and the United Nations Association. STOP also regularly makes donations to specific disaster relief efforts, seeking a sense of engagement with the larger world outside our borders. Following the Armenian earthquake in 1988, students fundraised for the Red Cross Emergency Relief Fund, and prepared a huge signed message of goodwill from the school. It was gratifying to the students to learn it was actually delivered to citizens in Armenia by the Calgary president of the Armenian Cultural Society.

Future Involvements

STOP has already met with hundreds of students at meetings and youth conferences across Alberta who seem eager to organize something similar in their schools. In fact, a STOP program has already been launched in another high school. Many students who send submissions to the annual contests ask how they can get more involved. The time is ripe for seeking greater engagement of youth in social justice action. When youth are given a voice and a meaningful opportunity for action within schools, they can become efficacious planners and practitioners of social justice activism, all the while developing a greater global connectedness.

I suspect that forming effective coalitions will not simply mean teachers and academics sharing power with youth, as if that is desirable or even possible. Rather, I prefer to follow Freire's (1970) suggestion that teachers and educational researchers begin by posing problems and exploring them together with students. In this way "the problem-posing educator constantly reforms his [sic] reflections in the reflections of the students. The students--no longer docile listeners--are now critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher" (p. 68). As participants engaged together with students in this inquiry, we seek common intentions for our efforts despite different power locations within school contexts.

The engaged activism of the students involved with the STOP program is an indication of public education's potential for enacting positive social change. I submit that more Canadian educators and researchers have a responsibility to understand and engage youth in their efforts, tapping this tremendous source of energy toward common goals of fairness and justice.

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Workplace Ergonomics - Importance Of Education And Training

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Introduction

1.1. Ergonomics defined:

In view of a rapid increase in the occupational injuries and complaints of discomfort at work, educating and training of employees (supervisors and workers) and employers (management) at the workplace is essential for improving human performance and productivity. Education of employees about the hazards associated with unsafe work practices is now an integral part of any training program developed for industry. But educating and training of supervisors of workers is even more important for management considering the fact that they are the immediate link to the workers at the ground level. So it is necessary for them to understand the activities of the work and its physical demand on the worker.

Ergonomics (Greek *ergon* "work" + Greek *nomos* "law") also known as 'human factors' is the study of the relationship between the worker and the working environment for safe, comfortable and efficient use. Chapanis[1] defined human factors (ergonomics) as a body of knowledge about human abilities, human limitations, and other human characteristics that are relevant to design. While assessing workplace effectiveness by this ergonomics approach, various methods are adopted such as interviewing employees; inspecting the facility; examining injury and illness records; and using questionnaires etc. From these sources, it is possible identify the problem area and determine the relative risk of an injury by using the quantitative and objective methods such as Energy Expenditure during a job, Biomechanical models, the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) Lifting equation, and strength data etc.

1.2. Problem Description:

With the regulations imposed by Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and NIOSH, many employers have now realized that preventing or eliminating workplace hazards by evaluating their facilities in terms of physical load on the employees and comparing them with the existing standards set by NIOSH will improve the productivity, and in turn reduce worker's compensation costs. Usually job evaluation is done either by OSHA inspectors, professional ergonomists (consultants), or in-house ergonomists (in big industries). With the advent of user-friendly computer programs (programs and models have been used interchangeably throughout this paper) for job evaluation such as Energy Expenditure Prediction Program [2]; Two Dimensional Static Strength Prediction Program [3]; and the NIOSH Lifting equation [4]; employers are now attempting to assess the workload with the help of their supervisors or ergonomic coordinators, thereby avoiding the financial burden from the outside professionals. Their education levels vary from a high school degree to bachelor degree. With limited exposure to ergonomics and its jargon and computers, are these programs/models really friendly to users (supervisors or ergonomics coordinators of a industry) and their applicability to the industrial tasks? Can we develop a unique program so that users can be trained for trouble shooting? Case studies done at one industry revealed limitations of the users in using ergonomics at their workplace and made me develop a modular training approach for job evaluation.

Job Evaluation

Because of the wide popularity of the above three models in solving various ergonomic issues, a simple approach was developed as a pilot project to train the users in these job-specific models. This approach has been divided into three sections.

2.1. Approach:

a. Getting Started:

This section was developed for the users to understand the job analysis in general and three models in particular for evaluating the various tasks. The introduction of each model gave conceptual knowledge to the user. The design parameters required for these models gave an idea of the data to be collected before implementing the models at the workplace.

b. Algorithmic section:

Flow Chart and Algorithmic techniques were developed for simple understanding of the models as well as for fault detection and analysis. This approach may be used as an aid to decision-making for various job structures to achieve the desired outcome(s). This section avoided the difficulty of reading long expositions and gave a simple step-by-step method for implementation of the models by the user.

c. Case Study section:

In this section, a documented description of the actual site problem in the form of a case study was initially evaluated by the author. Advising users to evaluate various tasks similar to the case study helped in learning from their own analysis to arrive at solutions to problems implicit in the case study.

2.2.1. Getting Started:

1. Select the job to be analyzed.
2. Select the worker(s) - collect demographics and health status.
3. Videotape the job as they perform. Capture the total work area to record postures and movements of all body parts during the entire task cycle of the job, the tools used and workstation configuration etc.
4. Reviewing the videotapes [5]:

Identify the behaviors that you want to include in the definition.

Write simple text (layman) definitions for each task. These definitions must be concise and descriptive of each step, and they should be listed in a logical manner on the job analysis sheet for Quantitative and Qualitative analysis. Other typical ergonomic considerations while doing job evaluation are shown in Table 1.

TABLE: 1

MAN (human body)	**MACHINE (workstation)**	**MATERIAL (object)**
Gender	Working height	Weight
Size	Reach	Size
Posture	Equipment design	Shape
Range of motion	Controls placement	Coupling
Frequency of motion	Controls dimensions	Type of object
Response to stimuli	Personal Protective Equipment	
ENVIRONMENT	**TASK**	
Temperature (cold/heat)	Type of task	
Air quality		
Noise		
Light		
House-keeping		

Measure the variables needed for job evaluation. Simple devices needed for the data collection are shown in Table 2:

TABLE 2

1. Stop watch
2. Measuring tape
3. Video Camera
4. Push/Pull gauge (force gauge)
5. Polaroid Camera
6. Protractor or Goniometer
7. White Elastic bands with Markers
8. Heart rate monitor
9. Temperature measuring equipment
10. Noise meter
11. Hand-arm vibration measuring device
12. Light meter

2.2.2. Models Description

Here are the most commonly used models in evaluation of any material handling jobs are described.

a. Energy Expenditure Prediction Program (EEPP)

Metabolic Energy Expenditure rate and heart rate are the physiological measurements which have been suggested most often in the literature for determining the maximum task intensity that can be continuously performed without accumulating an excessive amount of physical fatigue [2]. By relating the energy expended in a job to the aerobic power of the individuals for the endurance effort, an objective assessment can be made of the work capacity of the worker for carrying out a particular job without undue fatigue.

The metabolic energy expenditure rate of maintaining a body posture is a function of gender, body weight and body posture. The net increase in metabolic energy expenditure of a task includes both static and dynamic work. So prediction equations for the net metabolic cost for each task (as a function of personal and task variables) were developed by least squared error Regression Analysis. These prediction equations are expressed as net metabolic cost per performance. Therefore, these equations can also be used to estimate the net metabolic cost of infrequently occurring tasks or the elements that appear in special cycles of a repetitive job. Thus, this model can be applied to both repetitive and semi-repetitive jobs [6].

b. 2D Static Strength Prediction Program (2DSSPP)

The 2D Static Strength Prediction Program is helpful in job design and evaluation by simulating the physical strength requirements and resulting compressive force on the L5/S1 disc of the human back. It is applicable to motions in a sagittal plane (plane in front of the worker). Use of this model requires postural data, nature of the task involved, number of hands used, magnitude of force, and anthropometry to represent different sized workers.

This program provides a quantitative and objective tool to determine stresses from a given manual material handling effort. By modifying parameters, such as reducing weight of the load, keeping the load closer to the body, and raising the vertical height, we can simulate the tasks to determine their effects on compressive forces on the human body and strength requirements for a particular job before making the actual (re)design changes.

c. NIOSH Lifting equation [4, 7]:

Based on extensive research, NIOSH has developed guidelines for manual lifting and lowering. With the revised lifting equation(1991), employers can pinpoint hazardous lifting jobs at existing and planned workstations, as well as the specific variables that make jobs more prone to back injury. This equation recognizes that most heavy lifting jobs require not only the pull upward or downward motion, but also repeated twisting and the possibility that handles or couplings may be awkward or non-existent.

3. Design parameters [2]:

This sub section explains the data needed for using the above noted models *(for this paper parameters needed for only the EEPP model are explained).* The following information should be collected on the worker, Workplace, Job, Task, and Object for further analysis:

Personal	**Work place**	**Job Cycle**
Gender	Slope of the walking surface	Duration of job
Body Weight	Composition of the walking surface	Frequency of task/cycle
Body Posture		
Carrying height		
Stride length		

Tasks		**Object**
Lifting/Lowering	Walking	Weight
Carrying	Holding	
Pushing/Pulling	Hand work (Light or Heavy)	
Arm work (Horizontal, Lateral 180 or 90 dg, General)		

2.3. Algorithmic section:

A step-by-step method which gives information for the energy expenditure analysis of the job under investigation and also a flow chart which helps in quick understanding of the model were presented in this section.

Step 1. Select the job.
Step 2. Define the job cycle and its duration.
Step 3. Break the job into simple/manageable Tasks.
Step 4. Select the worker to be studied for the Job.
Step 5. Collect worker data such as Gender, Body Weight, Step distance, and Carrying Height.
Step 6. Define each task and its duration (duration is dependent of worker).
Step 7. Task Analysis:
a. Identify task work elements;
b. Use the data collected in Step 5 and Step 6;
c. Calculate Percent of time spent in the posture
 i. Standing
 ii. Standing bent*
 iii. Sitting

** Squat Lift and Percent of Semi Lift (based on difference between the lifting heights) can be treated as Standing bent*

d. Use the data collected in Design Parameters for each work element;
e. Complete the data form with all elements involved in the task;
f. Perform the analysis (all energy equations are automatically assigned to respective work elements while using the software program) to calculate average metabolic rate for the given task;
g. Repeat Step 7 for all the tasks defined;
h. Repeat Step 4 through Step 7 for all workers (if there are more than one subject);
i. Repeat Step 1 through Step 7 for all jobs (if there are more than one job)._

Case-Study Section:

Here an example of a real task observed in video has been analyzed for energy expenditure of a worker.

Packing: This task involves packing of the rolls from a cart to a rack and is done usually at the rate of 4 to 7.2 seconds. Packing is done at 3 different heights and precision is required while placing them onto the rack. This task also involves inspecting and placing the rejects onto the reject cart, label entry of rolls by laser gun, and computer entry.

Energy Expenditure Prediction Program Calculations

a. Work Elements involved in this task:
   1. Setting up the rack
   2. Reach for the rolls (on the cart)
   3. Lift/Lower rolls from cart
   4. Lowering to rack
   5. Placing rolls on the rack (significant control is required)
   6. Placing separators
   7. Label entry
   8. Computer entry

b. Calculate Percent of time in the Posture.
c. Identify the task elements (related to the model) and duration of each task.
d. Perform analysis using EEPP Software.

This case-study of a typical task performed at a workplace explains how to break the job into elements and perform the job evaluation.

Findings:

The following problems were observed by the author during a week of this model-specific training:

1. Computer Literacy

Unfamiliarity in using the computers and customized ergonomics software programs. Complaints of not user-friendliness of the given models.

2. Ergonomics Concepts

Users lack the fundamentals and definitions of various ergonomics terms used in general, and models in particular. This also resulted in users bias in interpretation of quantitative results obtained from the models.

3. Unfamiliarity with Industrial Engineering Techniques

Difficulty of breaking the task into elements and calculating time spent in each posture suggests more practice and experience for future evaluation.

4. Model Specific Problems:

While using EEPP program confusion between terms 'hand work' and 'arm work' was often encountered;

Angular measurements in Static Strength Prediction Program suggested more practice;

Measurements of Horizontal location of lift and asymmetry angle was found difficult in the NIOSH Lifting equation. Calculating Lifting frequency rate and Cumulative Index of a multi-task problem needed rigorous practice.

3. Modular Training approach

Based on the observational information and the feedback obtained from the users, the author developed a modular training program (see also the Flow diagram). This is mainly divided into four modules. The Concepts module is a foundation level explaining the fundamental concepts used for job evaluation strategies. The Second module Get Set, gears up the users in identifying the risk factors at the workplace. This module also explains various repetitive strain disorders encountered at the workplace. In the Action module quantitative analysis is being done on various jobs under investigation both by instructor and users. Finally interventions can be disseminated both to the workers and management in the Decision module.

4. Conclusions

These models can be used both as proactive and reactive tools and supervisors need considerable training in the above noted modules to get an awareness of ergonomics. Training should be given by professional ergonomists and the program should be designed and presented in a language and at a level of understanding appropriate for the supervisors. Multimedia or video based training is also useful in demonstrating skills and concepts to the users. A computer based instruction with an expert system approach should be considered in the future. By formulating simple rules and demonstrating them in both real and fictitious situations the concepts will be understood better. These rules should be systematic and logical so that they can be learned and easily followed.

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Can 'Gender' Survive in the Age of Queers?: De-Normalizing the 'Normal', De-Polarizing 'Gender'

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This paper is an exploratory conversation about two of the terms used in the title for this Conference; 'processes of normalization' and 'gender'.

Reading through what is now a vast literature on gender theory/gender in theory, one constantly encounters the words 'norms', 'normal', 'normalization' and more recently 'heteronormativity'. These words are rarely accompanied by any analysis of the conceptual apparatus that structures those words, or a genealogical tracing of the "constitution of the knowledges, discourses or domains of objects" (Foucault, 1995:117) that form a history of these concepts. From the work of Foucault through to popular culture magazines, there is an assumption that readers 'know' what normal is, and what it means to talk about technologies or processes of normalization. Is the concept of 'normal' really that transparent?

Like 'normal' the concept of gender may not be as transparent as we think. This concept has now become so overworked that it too tends to disappear into taken for granted assumptions about what is known.

I want to disrupt this notion of common knowledge about 'gender' and 'normal' by weaving the two concepts together into a framework that opens both concepts to a genealogical strategy that would allow us to focus our work on de-normalizing and depolarizing. As a 'history', this will be at best a whirlwind tour, and it will be centered in a story told about 'gender' and 'normal' framed within white, Anglo-European, androcentric discourses.

Most people, in or out of the academy, rarely stop to consider that the idea that there are only two kinds of gendered persons, masculine/man and feminine/woman, is simply that... AN IDEA.

Even those who use 'gender' as an analytic category, tend to begin from the premise that masculinity and femininity are a source of individual or social identity. There is a sense that even when we are disputing the relative merits of the constituent elements of masculinity and femininity, a two gender system is 'real' rather than an effect produced by discourses and practices that have structured that reality.

We spend a lot of time arguing whether the feminine can represent the rational, and therefore whether girls and women do have the same brain structure as boys and men, and therefore whether males and females can or should learn in similar or different ways, or can or should be better at particular learning skills and styles.

Hidden within these debates is a second, largely unacknowledged premise that a genetic, gonadal, genital male or female body will naturally and normally be masculine or feminine... that is that the body and characteristics and behaviors will always be congruent and predictable... provided that either:

(1) he or she is properly trained from birth to internalize the constituent properties of masculinity or femininity as they are imagined and sanctioned within any social collective or culture... the social construction perspective or

(2) that there is no biological factor preventing the emergence of innate feminine or masculine characteristics and behaviors... the essentialist or bio-determinist perspective.

From either perspective the constituent properties of femininity... passive, weak, morally inferior, irrational, sexually dangerous, nurturing and so on are assumed to match the presence of an XX chromosome pattern, clitoris, vagina, ovaries and uterus, and these constituent properties of the feminine will continue to match this female body through puberty, adulthood and the menopause to one degree or another. And this notion of congruency goes one step further to make the claim that this body sexed as female and gendered as feminine will naturally desire the body sexed as male and gendered as masculine in order to fulfill their destiny as reproducers of the species. Any sign of refusal to accept either the body-social mapping, or the object of desire necessity, leads to the conclusion that an

individual is unnatural or abnormal or is evidence of a monstrous psychic hermaphroditism that will lead to homosexuality unless caught early and cured.

We are taught that we can read a mapping of the gendered person off the body as it performs its sex through hairstyle, clothing, behaviors, styles of learning, moral attitudes, or ready acceptance of discipline and training toward socially acceptable roles. Little XX chromosome people wear dresses, love long hair, play with dolls, want to be mommy, sit down to pee, and hate competitive rough and tumble play. And they do all of this because they are ‘normal’ girls who will become ‘normal’ women. The same scenario, with opposite elements, is constructed for little XY chromosome people who as ‘normal’ boys will become ‘normal’ men. There are only two true sexes and two true genderings, so we have no problem at all identifying who is ‘normal’... or identifying the transgressive ‘abnormals’... the sissy and the tomboy, the fag and the dyke.

In order to disconnect sex from gender and sexuality, and all three from the ‘normal’, I am drawing on literature that is largely, but not exclusively, a product of the last 5 years in response to Foucault’s History of Sexuality (1990) and Laqueur’s Making Sex (1990). By response I mean both a critique and an expansion that in turn draw upon and reinterpret earlier literatures on the sexing of the body and gendering of persons extending back to the earliest records of human activity that we have claimed as a history of western cultures.

The sexing, sexualizing and gendering of bodies into a two sex/two gender system is an effect of historically located sets of discourses and relations of power/knowledge that have continuously colonized the counter-discourses of the “other”... be that totally other knowledges, or heresies within the dominant knowledge paradigms.

Thomas Laqueur (1990) draws our attention to what he terms a shift from a one sex to a two sex conceptual model, that coincides to an extent with Foucault’s notion of a shift to a concept of human bodies possessing one and only one of two ‘true’ sexes. For both Foucault and Laqueur the timing of this change of perception of the body occurs within the 17th and 18th centuries.

I would like to propose that this process of construction of a two sex model began in Northern Europe/England in the 15th century, and was not completely tied to a two gender system until the late 19th century.

At the risk of elevating one event from its historical context, I am suggesting that we need to begin this story of a gradual normalization of bodies into two sexes with the lifting of the ban on human post-mortem dissection that legitimated empirical research on human bodies for the first time since this practice was forbidden in the 3rd century. Human Post-mortem dissection created the conditions that moved knowledge of human bodies beyond either observation and comparison based on animal bodies, or the notion that investigation of the human body must be contained within the interpretation of past authorities such as the Hippocratics, Aristotle, or Galen’s synthesis of Aristotle and the Hippocratic Corpus.

There is not time today to trace the subsequent processes of sex differentiation through all of the continuities and discontinuities of discovery and re-interpretation. It is sufficient to note that by the end of the eighteenth century it was possible to speak of two sexes through particular readings of the body that set the male body as both the physical and moral ideal, the female body as deficient, abnormal or deviant. Then, as now, this differentiation extended from the skeleton to the brain, but focused mainly on all organs and functions of desire and reproduction.

The processes of gendering into masculine, feminine or hermaphroditic kinds in order to set boundaries around divisions of labor, spheres of activity, and the maintenance of the division between the rational and irrational continued as it had for centuries. The process of gendering, in its various forms, drew its authority from ancient mythology, theology, literature and the probabilities of moral conduct within a social contract and/or the necessities of economies.

In the long view of history, gendering precedes sexing or sexualizing. By this I mean that the constituent properties of masculinity and femininity mattered from the beginning of the recording of the human condition around 3000 BCE.

Again if we can lift events out of their historical context, we can propose a generalization that sexed bodies began to be important with the early systemization of medicine around 500-400 BCE, and sexual practices became particularly salient in western cultures with the development of Christian doctrine in the first 500 years of the common era. Even as we recognize that sexed bodies, genderings and sexualities are bound together in complex sets of discourses and practices within any specific power/knowledge nexus, it is possible to tease out the separate histories and locate the points where one of these processes for the division of humanity becomes more or less dominant, or where they are conflated into a sex/gender/sexuality system.

The notions of 'normal' and 'normalizing' can also be traced through three major frameworks; the anatomical-physiological concept of health, as in 'normal' organs and functions; the moral-ethical framework of right conduct; and in the mathematics of social statistics and probability. I am going to concentrate on the mathematical because this is perhaps the most pervasive and least acknowledged framework that situates the processes of gendering and the technologies of normalization within what has become a taken for granted common knowledge. In a year of searching the literature, I have found only one concrete reference that links gender specifically to the mathematics of normalization; a brief passage within Dorothy Smith's (1990:43-45) The Conceptual Practices of Power. To get at how and when 'normal' became a mathematical term of reference, I had to go into the literature on the history of social statistics and theories of probability, and develop the links between the invention of statistical probability and the events surrounding the Darwinian conceptual revolution in natural science.

By the mid 19th century natural science, associationist psychology and the medical sciences of anatomy and physiology had established that male and female were not simply superior and inferior variations of man (the one sex model). At the very least, male and female represented different kinds of human bodies that by virtue of the presence of particular organs and functions should occupy different social locations disciplined by reference to the appropriate constituent properties of masculine and feminine. This gave us the formulas of ovaries or uterus as the essence of femininity, sperm as the essence of masculinity and so on.

In the Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex, published in 1871 and revised in 1874, Darwin made a move that had an enormous influence on perceptions of sexed, sexualized and gendered bodies. He divided male and female evolution into two separate histories, gave the male and female differential roles in natural selection, and went on to explain sexual dimorphism as an essential feature of civilized and progressive humanity. In the process he brought primary and secondary sex characteristics into a tight relationship with tertiary or social characteristics... the constituent elements of masculinity and femininity.

The sex of the body was no longer just associated with gendered characteristics and behaviors... sex predicted gender. All those with female bodies or male bodies were by natural law feminine/woman or masculine/man. This was not just different kinds, but an incommensurable oppositeness where man and woman were in effect, different species (the two sex model).

This opened the door to sex difference research and the search for the average male/man and female/woman who would be the standard against which all 'civilized' and 'primitive' humans would be judged. It should come as no surprise that in the Darwinian mode of MAN and that which is NOT MAN... the white European male/masculine represented the bourgeois ideal... with the female/feminine as the mark of all that was undesirable or unnatural across class, race and sexual categories.

Normal was converted from a concept of morality and health to the mathematical through methodologies that proposed that the average as the central tendency in frequency distributions, could be used to predict what was 'normal' within any social collective or culture.

Using Darwinian theory and theories of probability, Francis Galton and Karl Pearson invented the normal curve based on the Gaussian curve of error in astronomy, and thereby invented the sciences of eugenics and biometrics. Where normal in terms of morality and health had been tied to the actual observation of bodies, people and social relationships... the Galton-Pearson process of normalization was posited as an autonomous law of statistics. A configuration of sex/gender was normal because it was a central tendency or could be a priori determined as a central tendency based on social conventions that were, in Darwinian terms, natural.

This placed sex difference theory and research firmly within positivist methodologies in the emerging social/human sciences... psychiatry, bio-medicine, psychology, sociology and of course sexology. As a technology of normalization, statistical probability is difficult to argue against because it does not require that we know anything other than the fact that something appears to be a central tendency in frequency distributions of characteristics, behaviors, sexual practices, or social roles drawn from the measurement of these elements within populations. How a characteristic or behavior becomes average, common or typical is entirely beside the point.

Because we are so immersed in a sea of numbers, and in a trust in the science of numbers to tell the truth, the three frameworks of 'normal', health, morality and mathematics, have become one framework where everything can be measured, graphed, correlated and declared either 'normal' or 'abnormal'. We carry a bell curve template in our heads that reassures us that, in spite of any evidence to the contrary, there are only two sexes, and only two genders. Anyone who speaks or lives a different truth must be mentally ill or deviant because they live their everyday/everynight lives outside of an enshrined central tendency.

A strategy of subversion that rests on pitting one set of normal curves against another will never work because this strategy constantly brings into being the very terms of gendering, sexing and sexualizing that we are trying to de-normalize and depolarize. I would suggest that we develop a strategy from two sources.

First we need to pull the genealogy/history of 'normal' out of the philosophy and history of science literature into a critique within the social sciences in order to expose the methodologies and practices of statistical probability as a power based disciplinary regime of truth. Second we need to pay very close attention to the discourses of both the medical-psychiatric system of gender identity research and practice, and the largely complementary discourses of the transgenderists. Transgenderists, whether pre or post op transsexuals, the politicized intersexed, or cross dressers, may indeed be gender outlaws, and as such have a great deal to teach us about the concept of gender. However in spite of their radical transgressions, they tend to normalize, rather than de-normalize a two sex/two gender system by searching for their 'true selves' within the central tendencies that structure normalized maleness, masculinity, femaleness, and femininity.

So the answer to the question, can 'gender' survive in the age of queers... is yes, it can, as long as the technologies of normalization remain a secret, mystified process for disciplining our bodies into two sexes and two genders. I'll leave you with a question... could the processes of normalization that I have discussed operate effectively if we recognized that within the human condition there is at least 5 sexes (cf. Fausto-Sterling, 1993), and therefore a multitude of combinations of characteristics, behaviors, and sexual practices.

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SITUATING EAST ASIANS IN CANADIAN RACE DISCOURSE

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INTRODUCTION

How is difference, as a socially meaningful category, dictated, negotiated, fought over and represented? This paper focuses on the difference of race. Using ethnographic tools, I will attempt to delineate how race impacts the lives of Canadians of East Asian heritage (i.e. Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese & Korean) who were born in and grew up in Canada or immigrated to Canada at an early age.

The positioning of East Asians in Canada will be discussed by analyzing the ways in which the "model minority" and the "yellow peril" stereotypes are (re)constructed within Canadian society. In so doing, some of the preliminary findings of the present study will be given. Emphasis will be placed on how the participants internalized representations of East Asians in order to construct their individual and social identity. Thus the study serves to glean some of the issues associated with dealing with difference in multicultural and multiracial societies.

THE RETREAT FROM RACE

An analysis of contemporary race discourse in Canada necessitates the discussion of discourse on ethnic and cultural difference since, as stated by Razack (1995), "...culture is the terrain in which racial othering occurs... (p. 69). The rhetoric of cultural difference is how issues of race are filtered, confused and often negated. In a nation which masks racism with discourse on cultural difference, the acknowledgment of differences leads to the appreciation of the differences which do not critically analyze relations of racial domination. The questions that need to be addressed are not whether group differences are legitimated in Canadian society, but which differences are engaged, how difference are engaged, and who has the power to direct the discourse. Frankenberg (1993) asserts that:

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> What becomes clearer about color evasiveness, then, is that more than evading questions of difference wholesale, this discursive repertoire selectively engages difference, evading questions of power. While certain kinds of difference or differentiation can be seen and discussed with abandon, others are evaded if at all possible (p. 152).

Therefore, much academic discourse, as well as public discourse, on visible minorities focuses on ethnic cultural retention and loss. In the field of education these issues have generally been dealt with in relation to academic performance (whether from the macrostructural perspective (see Ogbu: 1987) or the microstructural perspective (see Tharp: 1989 and Jacobs: 1989)). The primary source of both ethnic success and failure is stated to be the distinct culture of these groups. However, I will argue that cultural difference theories neglects the fact that the dominant society dictates the boundaries of cultural groups and the characteristics which define groups. In addition, these boundaries are constructed and maintained in order to perpetuate the status quo.

SITUATING EAST ASIANS WITHIN CANADIAN RACE DISCOURSE

In the United States dominant discourse situates East Asians within the black/white bipolar racial spectrum where Asian-Americans have been historically represented as black, more black than white and as "outwhiting the whites" (Okihiro: 1994). In Canada, issues of culture and language predominate within the framework of English/French and others. In addition, within the framework of bilingualism and multiculturalism, visible minorities exist as hyphenated Canadians.

The multicultural hyphen (i.e. Korean-Canadian) with its emphasis on the importance of 'there' rather than 'here' serves to solidify the marginality of all who are subsumed under its constraints. The hyphen represents authority since one is automatically a hyphenated Canadian due to racial visibility regardless of how long one has lived in Canada or whether one was born in Canada (Brand: 1990). On the other hand, the hyphen is highly ambiguous since it purports to define the realities of visible minorities as not fully 'ethnic' and not fully 'Canadian'. Ergo the hyphenated Canadian represents cultural impurity and inauthenticity.

Although hyphenated according to cultural origins, East Asians, defined as a racially homogenous group are lumped together negating differences of culture, gender, class, sexuality and history in Canada. Canadians of East Asian descent, similar to other visible minorities, face a curious dilemma whereby they are expected to lose their foreignness and integrate while at the same time their foreignness is continually distorted and emphasized. This paradox exists since the source of their foreignness is stated to be cultural and ethnic differences, however, the inability to lose one's foreignness is rooted in one's embodied racial difference.

This imprisonment in one's body leads to a sense of powerlessness since the cultures and bodies of people of colour are without individuality. The definition of East Asian is continually filtered through and defined by the Western gaze (see Chow: 1993, chapter 2, Clifford: 1988). As perpetually represented and representatives of a supposed unified group, their cultures and their visible bodies are continually (re)constructed to address and serve the desires and fears of the majority. The objectified Other is simultaneously desired and disdained, displayed and hidden, seen to possess bounty and lack, exemplify Canadianness when successful and foreignness in failure (see Jordan & Weedon: 1995).

The stereotypes of the "model minority" and the "yellow peril" signify this hegemonic discourse of defining and silencing the Other through contradictory forces of attraction and repulsion. The "model minority" posits East-Asians as hard working, industrious, docile, compliant, well mannered "individuals" who live in close-knit, well disciplined families and hold a deep respect for education leading to great educational and economic success. The "model minority" states that East Asians do suffer from discrimination but accept it rather than become politically and socially active or seek government assistance. They do not rock the boat, do not take social issues seriously and go about taking care of their own (see Brest & Oshigi: 1995, Omi & Takagi: 1996, Okihiro: 1994, Chun: 1995, Lowe: 1996). However, the concept of the "model minority" can easily become the "yellow peril" whereby all of the above characteristics combined with the collective criminalization of Asian males serves to accentuate Western fears of the Other (i.e. Mongol hordes). East Asians are also seen as cunning, fanatical, upwardly mobile, cheap, and aggressive, East Asian communities are defined as exclusionary, and

East Asian children are simultaneously "our second-generation problem" and "our amazing Chinese kids". Okihiro (1994) argues that: "...both notions are anti-Asian and form a closed loop that ameliorates and reinforces both. Thus, the model minority blunts the threat of the yellow peril, but the former, if taken too far, becomes the yellow peril (p. xiv)." Okihiro (1994) goes on to notes that: "The perils of the body (the yellow peril) and mind (the model minority) are rooted within a cultural politics of assimilation and exclusion, but they also arise out of economic and political contestation (p. xiv)."

The "model minority" serves to reinforce the status quo positioning East Asians relative to the "less successful" minorities such as blacks, East Indians and First Nations (Omi & Takagi: 1996) while the "yellow peril" justifies colonialism and neo-colonialism (Marchetti: 1993). Offering a strange mix of exocticism, uncivilized paganism, innocent purity and deviousness both stereotypes serve to position East Asians in order to reinforce systems of racial domination. In addition, the "model minority" and the "yellow peril" maintains essentialized boundaries of East and West (the "model minority" emphasizing essentialized cultures and the "yellow peril" focusing on essentialized racism) negating the connection of periphery and center, minority and majority and the increasing existence of the hybrid identity of many Canadians of East Asian heritage. These binarisms fail to reveal how the significance of margin and center are deduced from each other (Ferguson: 1990, Mercer: 1990). As stated by Okihiro (1994):

> While the yellow peril threatens white supremacy, it also bolsters and gives coherence to a problematic construction: the idea of a unitary "white" identity. Similarly, the model minority fortifies white dominance, or the status quo, but it also poses a challenge to the relationship of majority over minority. The very indices of Asian American "success" can imperil the good order of race relations when the margins lay claim to the privileges of the mainstream (p. 141).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

Five women and three men, ranging in age from late teens to mid twenties, were interviewed over a four month period using tools from ethnography. Seven of the participants were interviewed twice for an average of one and a half hours each. The ethnic groups represented are Korean, Chinese, Japanese and Vietnamese. All of the participants were either born and raised in Canada or immigrated in early childhood. The transcribed interviews will be analyzed in comparison to one another highlighting specific reoccurring cultural themes. All participants have been given pseudonyms analogous to their original name (only one participant had a non-English name and was given an alternative culturally appropriate pseudonym). In addition, minor changes will be made in order to ensure confidentiality. Below are some general findings which preclude a thorough analysis of the participants discourses.

The degree to which the participants identified themselves with racial difference and the significance attached to it varied. In addition all participants revealed the contradictions imbedded in the continual process of negotiating identity and a sense of belonging. Only John seemed to have consciously analyzed and to some degree enjoys the realities of being a hyphenated Canadian.

Unlike the way Canadians define who they are by continually asking the "exotics" who they are (Bissoondath: 1994), the participants often defined themselves in relation to what they were not through contradictory forces of inclusion and exclusion. The participants defined themselves as "not foreign", "not fully Canadian", "not like typical Korean-Canadians", "not like her parents", "not Caucasian", "spice on top of white bread", "fully assimilated Canadian", "a fencesitter" and as "superior".

The majority of the participants relayed their experiences of being defined within the homogenous group of "Asians" and the positive and negative connotations of this social identity (aspects of the "model minority" and the "yellow peril"). Several participants stated that they purposefully did not associate with Asians during their teen years since, as stated by Pam, "I didn't think it looked very nice." Phoung also voiced her frustration with the dominance of Chinese in the Asian group and her belief that positive stereotypes of Asians mostly apply to Japanese whereas the negative one's mostly apply to her group, the Vietnamese.

Their discourses revealed the ways in which individuals dealt with their inability to define themselves, with their racial visibility. With the exception of Susan, who denied

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that she ever felt different or has experienced racism, the participants believed that they cannot be fully accepted as Canadian due to their racial visibility and for some their cultural differences. Pam stated that incidences of covert racism leading to her "disconnection from the mainstream" have fueled her desire to accentuate her Koreanness, her difference which she now defines as an advantage, as superiority (see Trinh: 1989, p. 89 for a discussion of the relationship between authenticity and hegemony). Her assertions have much to do with the economic rise of the Pacific Rim countries and her perceived, dictated and real connections with it. In addition, Pam focuses on raising her class status since this is the one thing she feels she can control. She does not apologize for this believing it to be commonsensical, however, she does wonder whether she is "selling out" (see West: 1988). Susan chose to completely negate the significance of her racial difference in relation to other Canadians but demanded difference in relation to "immigrants" and "foreigners". She does not deny her ethnic heritage, defining herself as Japanese for all who ask, but attempts to disassociate herself from negative markers of difference. Mark's discourse focused on his belief in the impossibility of equality. Hence, according to Mark, people are autonomous individuals who should do their best and not complain. His discourse is imbued with aspects of the "new" conservatism (see Underleider: 1996, pp. 66-67). Similar to Mark, many of the participants treated issues of race as individual and personal rather than structural and social. Jenny, in particular treated issues of racism as one's of getting to know nice people from that group, accepting yourself and your parents and building yourself up to be the best person you can be.

In summary, responses to marginalization varied significantly. Some chose to take a stance of individualism and universalism stating that an emphasis on difference is what leads to inequality. These participants primarily defined themselves as Canadians. Pam, and to a lesser extent Alan, have decided to "work with" difference. In particular Pam is very proud of her Koreanness and believes that Asians will one day rule the world. In addition others identified themselves as a hybrid mix of numerous cultural and social factors stating that the hyphen adequately represents who they are.

CONCLUSIONS

In the proceeding pages I have given a brief overview of some of the issues that will be discussed in the research. The basic contention is that race impact the lives of all individuals regardless of visibility. In addition, dominant ideologies which do not reveal the specificity of 'whiteness' ensure that the knowledge needed to make sense of and resist marginalization is absent. It appears that race has impacted the lives of all of the participants. However, the extent and nature of this impact, the ways in which participants deal with issues of race and their consciousness of it varies markedly.

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Local Control Of Education In A Global Environment

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Educating in Global Times, the title and theme of this conference, suggests there is a need to be aware of the global environment when looking at the educational needs of our local communities. In North America, the need for a workforce that can compete in global markets has been a driving force behind school restructuring efforts (Herman J. & Herman J., 1993, p7) (Murphy J., 1991 p6-8). Indeed, the existence of international comparisons of student achievement in mathematics, science and other subjects suggests a global curriculum exists. In Canada, the western provinces are developing a common curriculum for mathematics, science and english, each with accompanying achievement tests. The objective seems to be the creation of a generic worker, who is capable of serving the needs of multinational corporations.

This is occurring while there is a strong movement to devolve control of schools to the local level (Seddon, T., Angus, L. & Poole, M., 1990, p29)(Murphy, J., 1991, p137). Several jurisdictions have legislated parental involvement in or control of local schools (School Act, Alberta, 1994). The question to be asked is how much local control of the curriculum is appropriate? This question is followed by how do you reconcile the local curriculum needs with the need for a globally competitive workforce?

The Nature of Global Business

The multinational firms have demonstrated consistently that they search out countries willing to provide low cost labour and services in an unregulated environment. They have also demonstrated that they have no loyalty to the country or the people who work for them. At the first hint of labour organization or government regulation, the multinational is looking for another place to do business. In fact the multinationals use the threat of leaving to keep the workforce and the governments in line. The actions of the multinationals today are no different than the colonial governments that exploited the resources of their colonies. Labour is just another resource that is being transformed into a commodity.

Alternatives to Global Markets

Countries should ask themselves if the goal of their education system should be to produce low cost labour for multinational companies. They should ask themselves why their people should subsidize consumers in other countries.

There are alternatives to being plugged into the global economy. Jane Jacobs in Cities and the Wealth of Nations suggests that counties develop a diversified and vibrant economy by supporting industries that meet local needs. She sees a process of import substitution leading to the creation of an infrastructure that supports a manufacturing base. Japan is a country that has successfully developed domestic industries that are now competitive in international markets. A quite different example is the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. This bank has provided loans in excess of $100 million US, averaging $75 per loan, to individuals to develop cottage industries. The people aided by the Grameen bank are producing for the local economy.

Alternatives to the Global Curriculum

Just as countries should be asking if competing in global markets is the best way to develop their economy, they should ask if the global curriculum meets the needs of their students and society. Few people would argue with teaching literacy, science, mathematics, and social studies.

Few people would argue against post secondary education. However, policy makers must decide how to allocate scarce educational resources. For example in the poorer regions of rural China a national curriculum is taught that prepares the students for university. Unfortunately, only 3% of the population go on to university and most students drop out before grade 6. The worst aspect of this is the students aren't learning skills or gaining knowledge that would help their communities develop economically (Li, X., February 1997). There must be a recognition of the educational needs of the country and the community. For me the differences in national curricula and the underlying factors became apparent during a trip to China. Before I left the results of an international comparison of student achievement in mathematics was released. Chinese students were first on the computational portion and Alberta students were among the best at identifying data needed to solve a problem. While Alberta students somewhere around tenth overall, at least their performance reflected the curriculum. When I got to China I was struck by the absence of calculators and adding machines. Clearly, people with good computational ability were required to support the economy. The Chinese education system was providing people with the skills required.

In addition to the technical and academic subjects the education policy makers must look to the development and transmission of local community values. The Grameen bank does this by indoctrinating borrowers in Grameen social values, known as the "sixteen decisions." Borrowers vow to observe the bank's four basic principles: discipline, unity, courage and hard work "in all walks of life." They also pledge to "keep our families small," shun child marriage and the "curse" of wedding dowries, "build and use pit-latrines," and "plant as many seedlings as possible during the plantation seasons." (mahmud, a., 1992). The curriculum taught by the Grameen bank might not be needed everywhere, but it is vital to the students and the local community and the bank.

Education for Local Needs

For an example of what a community oriented education system looks like, we can turn to the Swan Valley School division in Manitoba. It has developed partnerships with local industries and organizations that allow the students to learn skills needed in the local economy. In return local organizations have access to resources that make their operations more efficient and effective. The curricular vehicles for this are the Environmental Management program and the Technical Writing program. Local organizations submit projects for the students and those projects that contribute to the educational objectives of the programs are completed by students. Also, the division, through partners, is a center for adult education, university courses, teaching parenting skills, and it facilitates interagency cooperation in the delivery of social services (Schaffer, B., Mateika, C., & Offenberger, H., February 1997).

A more ambitious project is the Dene Kede curriculum developed for K-6 and being developed for grades 7,8,9 in the Northwest Territories. The impetus to developing the curriculum was the large dropout rate for native students. As well, the native community didn't feel the existing curriculum was relevant, taught local values or transmitted local culture. The Dene Kede curriculum addresses these problems by providing a Dene world view and perspective. The educational objectives of the curriculum are the transmission of Dene values and culture. The western curriculum isn't ignored. Science, mathematics, and literacy are all taught, but they are taught in the context of Dene values and when the Dene feel they are appropriate (Tatti, F., February 1997).

Conclusion

Quite clearly, local educational needs must drive the local curriculum. It makes little sense to invest in people only to see them leave the community. This may be an economic reality that a community must face, but as Fibbi Tatti said (1997) we must give students the knowledge to be successful in the community or in the global village. The students must have a choice.

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The Dutch Experience With "Charter Schools"

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The Netherlands education system is often cited as one of the most advanced educational systems in Western Europe. In 1917, the Netherlands legislated an educational system whereby all schools were publicly funded. This created the equivalent of Alberta's charter schools. However, the Dutch model should not be considered the panacea to perceived problems in the Alberta education system. In this paper the Dutch experience with "charter schools" will be examined and analysed. It will be argued that the inclusion of "charter schools" in the Netherlands significantly increased social stratification and produced an unwieldy bureaucracy. The charter schools, if not kept to a small percentage of the Alberta education system, can lead to serious social cleavages.

Historical Background

In order to examine how the Dutch education system operates with a 'charter schools' structure it is important to understand the origins of the system and to know what the term means. According to the *Charter School Handbook* published by Alberta Education:

A charter school is a public school providing a basic education in a different or enhanced way to prove student learning...they will be different from what is locally available and likely will vary from one charter school to another....will complement the education services provided in the public system....will have flexibility and considerable autonomy...will specialize in a particular education service to address a specific need....operated by a corporate body in accordance with section 24.1(1) of the School Act.[1]

This description fits the schools that the Dutch system has had in place since 1917. Like most other industrialized countries, the Netherlands was involved in an education struggle that consisted of friction between religious and ideological factions.[2] The educational struggle emerged in 1619 when the Dutch Reformed Church's Synod of Dordrecht declared that teachers' adherence to the Calvinist faith was mandatory. C.R. Boxer writes that the: "Calvinist Church authorities kept an eye on...private schools to the extent of ensuring that they were not opened without their permission and that all the teachers were certified members of the' true Christian Reformed Religion."[3] Despite a surface acceptance of other religions the intolerant nature inherent in the extreme Dutch strain of Calvinism did not legally recognize Anabaptists, Lutherans or Roman Catholics; they considered these false religions and those who adhered to these beliefs were considered second class citizens. Historian Simon Schama argues that:

> ...the Reformed Church, in the spirit of the Synod of Dort, continued to regard schools as it had once regarded the universities-as instruments for the suppression of heterodoxy. The young were to be cleansed of improper doctrine by daily doses of the Heidelberg catechism and an otherwise unrelieved diet of scriptural texts.[4]

Although more than half the Dutch population had become Calvinist by 1730, mainly through the elementary level educational policies that the Dutch Reformed Church controlled, by the late 18th century the Calvinist rigidity had relaxed somewhat and its power had declined due to decreasing membership.[5] An increasing diversity of religious groups had emerged over the course of the 18th and 19th centuries which led Baptists, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Jews, and Roman Catholics to establish their own often clandestine private non-subsidized schools[6] These groups suffered economic, political, and social obscurity until 1795 when a new constitution provided equality for all citizens despite their religious affiliation. However, a definition of public and private schools finally was constitutionally enforced. This classification criterion was financial; approximately 70 per cent were subsidized by municipalities, orphanages, almshouses, foundations, unions and diocese while 30 per cent were non-subsidized[7] These educational developments were quite advanced for the time in comparison with other European countries.

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[1] *Charter School Handbook*, Edmonton: Alberta Education, (1996): 2.

[2] There have been at least six educational struggles in the Netherlands, most revolve around the public versus private issue.

[3] C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1899*, London: Hutchinson of London, (1977): 156.

[4] Simon Schama, "Schools and Politics in the Netherlands, 1796-1814," *The Historical Journal* 13 no.4 (1970): 593.

The third Elementary Education Act, passed in 1806, provided for curriculum content, teaching qualifications, and inspections of schools. Schools were established as either publicly-funded by the government, or privately-funded by private sources. The most significant clause determined that all children were to be instilled with 'general Christian' and civic virtues. The modern education struggle, which was a direct consequence of the 1806 Elementary Act, developed in three stages; only two are of importance to this paper. The first phase began in 1815 and lasted until 1860. Dutch parents of non-Calvinist persuasion strongly objected to the idea of having their children taught in a particular interpretation with which they disagreed or did not accept. Demands for particular denominational schools arose. These parents argued that non-denominational schools infringed not only on their parental rights but the rights of their children as well. The second stage of the struggle lasted from 1860 to 1920 and centred around the "unequal treatment accorded to state and denominational schools and fears of government interference in education."[8]

The Pacification Agreement 1917

The struggle for equitable funding ended with the 1917 Pacification Agreement, a Constitutional amendment that ensured that private and state education, where little difference actually existed in instruction but the ideological viewpoints differed, would henceforth receive equal financial consideration. Sections of Article 208 of the 1917 Constitution read as follows:

> The imparting of education shall be free,.... Public education shall be regulated by law, every person's religious views being duly respected. The cost of education shall be entirely from public funds and public education. In these regulations the freedom of private education concerning the choice of means of instruction and the appointment of teachers, shall, particularly, be respected. Private general education fulfilling conditions to be imposed by law shall be defrayed from public funds according to the same standards as public education.[9]

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[5] Bernard Vlekke, *Evolution of the Dutch Nation*. New York: Roy Publishers, (1945): 316. The author notes that by 1899 only 48.5 per cent of the Dutch population adhered to Calvinism and by 1920 membership declined even further to 41.6 per cent.

[6] See the articles by H.G.A. Janssen, "De Israelitische Armenscholen in Gelderland 1836-1869,"[The Jewish schools for poor children in Gelderland 1836-1869] *Studia Rosenthalia* (Netherlands) 11 no.2 (1977):157-197 and "Staatsrechtelijke en Culturele Aspecten van het Israelitisch Onderwijs in Nederland to 1869,"[Juridical and cultural characteristics of Jewish education in the Netherlands up to 1869] *Studia Rosenthalia* (Netherlands) 11 no.1 (1977):40-80.

[7] See P. Th. F. M. Boekholt and de E. P. Booy, *Geschiedenis van de School in Nederland vanaf de middeleeuwen tot aan de heidige tijd*. [History of the school in the Netherlands form the Middle Ages to the present]. Assen: Van Gorcum, (1987) and N. L. Dodde, *Het Nederlands Onderwijs Verandert: Ontwikkelingen sinds 1800*. [Netherlands education is changing], Muiderberg: Dick Coutinho, (1983).

[8] "*Richness of the Uncompleted: Challenges facing Dutch education.*" Report to OECD. Zoetermeer: Ministry of Education, (1989).

[9] Article 208, Pacification Agreement, 1917.

Public schools were administered and maintained by school boards in the name of the municipality while private schools had private school boards in the form of associations and foundations: their philosophy was based on theology first, then on pedagogical didactic premises.

Public education		**Private education**
State Schools	Municipal Schools	Roman Catholic, Protestant/Christian, General
ministry	1. municipal council 2.functional commission 3. municipal regulations	unions foundations church

Compartmentalization

Dutch society is strongly socially stratified; a quadripartite segmentation largely revolves around: public, private, Roman Catholic and Protestants, and this is extended to the schools despite the egalitarian approach to finance. Many Dutch sociologists and historians agree that the 1917 Pacification Agreement led to a greater increase in compartmentalization of the Dutch school system and consequently of Dutch society. S. Boef-van der Meulen and J. A. van Kemenade designated it as a vertical pluralistic construct of society based on ideology while [10] Dodde, however, agrees with this author that "compartmentalization" is more applicable. [11] While intending to provide educational and financial parity it legislatively confirmed the societal cleavages. Denis Kallen writes that compartmentalization or the Dutch term for it "pillarization":

> holds a profoundly divided nation together in a carefully balanced legal and organisational structure that leaves everybody - i.e. every "*zuil*" or "column" - free in respect of everything concerning his "principles" and "inner convictions", thanks to an unbelievably complex set of jealously defended rights and guarantees on the one hand, to a meticulously developed, and zealously applied system of rules for financing, management and control on the other.[12]

After the passage of the Pacification Agreement four types of schools were offered legally in the educational system: public, Roman Catholic, Protestant Christian and private. At age six students enrolled in the school of parental choice and stayed in that particular category of school until graduation. So at this early age the student knew exactly where he or she stood in relation to the rest of Dutch society.

The breadth of the excessive compartmentalization is made clearly evident with some startling statistics. From 1960. Only 25.6 per cent were public schools, 45.5 per cent were Roman Catholic, and 26 per cent Protestant and two per cent private.[13] Obviously the fragmentation of the school system was as pervasive as that of Dutch society. The four different educational environments resulted in four different types of instruction each with their own ideologies. Accordingly, each system had its own versions of history and religion that was taught according to their specific beliefs. Lack of a state curriculum meant that each school followed its own pedagogical ideology; if students passed the state leaving examinations, the state did not interfere.

The teacher student ratio generally was one to 30 students with an additional teacher if the class size exceeded 30. The Dutch also fragmented teachers and their associations along these public-private lines. The number of teachers for both elementary and special elementary schools totaled 56,053 most of whom were in the Roman Catholic, Protestant and private system.[14] The state supervised or invigilated both systems through the State leaving examinations, proficiency of the system, qualifications and standards, and also the morality of the teachers and instructors. Seemingly each school had freedom of establishment, freedom of direction and organization or structure if it abided by the educational laws.

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[10] S.Boef-van der Meulen and J. A. van Kemenade, "Onderwijs en levensbeschouwing," Onderwijs en samenlevingA, *Onderwijs bestel en beleid*, Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, (1986): 236.

[11] Dodde, N.L. "Jewish Education in Schools in the Netherlands from 1815 to 1940." *Studia Rosenthaliana* 30, 1, (1996): 1.

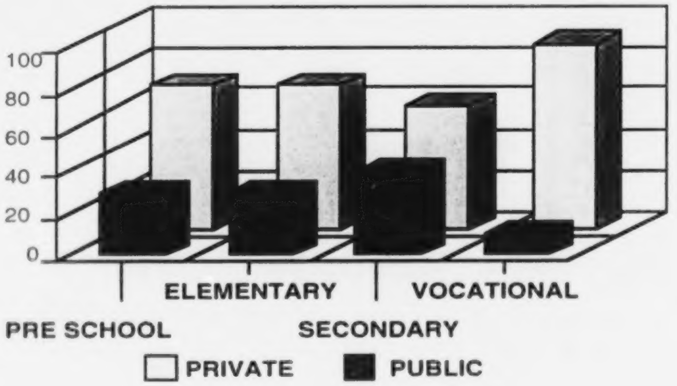
[12] Dennis Kallen, "Developments of Education in the Netherlands," *Western European Education* 16 no.4 (1984-85): 22.

[13] *Vijf en negentig jaren satistiek in tijdsreeksen*, [Ninety five years of chronological statistics], Central Bureau of Statistics, The Hague: (1994): 12.

Government reports such as the Ministry of Education's *Annual Reports* also provide yearly statistics that indicates quite clearly that 'charter schools' increase societal stratification. In the *Annual Report 1968* THE report of the OECD[15] concerning Dutch education was mentioned.[16]The OECD's group of international educational experts saw no need for the excessive categorization of Dutch schools and urged that the categorization of 'charter schools' be eliminated. The *Annual Report 1969* provide some statistics of two categories of secondary schools (VWO and HAVO) that were categorized into 61 Protestant schools with 38,415 students, 143 Roman Catholic schools with 95,471 students and 26 private schools with 13,191 students.[17] The public school sector however, decreased from 28.9 to 28.6 per cent.[18] Clearly the 'charter schools' lead to an increased compartmentalization of society.

Compartmentalization increased in the early 1970s when new unions, organizations and advisory institutes along "pillarized" lines were established[19] Several powerful Councils, established between 1966 and 1979, have strong control over the system. To illustrate, The Nederlandse Algemeene Bijzondere Schoolraad, NABS, Netherlands General Private School Council, and The Nederlandse Katholieke Schoolraad, KNKSR, Netherlands Catholic School Council, and the Nederlandse Protestants-Christelijke Schoolraad, NPCS, Netherlands Protestant Christian School Council, have far greater control over school choice than the parents have. This segmentation is mirrored in Ministry of Education statistics that indicate that the system in 1970 consisted mostly of private schools: 80% of pre school, 70% of elementary, 60% of secondary and 90% of vocational education. The impact of the effects of these figures can best be understood with the chart on the right.[20]

CHART 1: PUBLIC vs PRIVATE PERCENTAGES 1970



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[14] *Annual Report (1960)* 21.
[15] The OECD had been established the same year.
[16] See *Annual Report (1968)*: 42-43 for a numerical list of the various comprehensive schools.
[17] Ibid, 45.
[18] CBS, (1994): 244.
[19] For example, *Christelijk Pedagogisch Studiecentrum*, CPS, the Christian Pedagogical Centre was established in 1977. For Roman Catholic educatoin the *Hoger Katechetistisch Institute*, Higher Cathecetical Institute, was founded in 1978.
[20] Source: Frank H. Molyneux and Gene Linker, "Schools in Transition: the Dutch Approach," *Trends in Education* no. 17 (Jan 1970): 47.

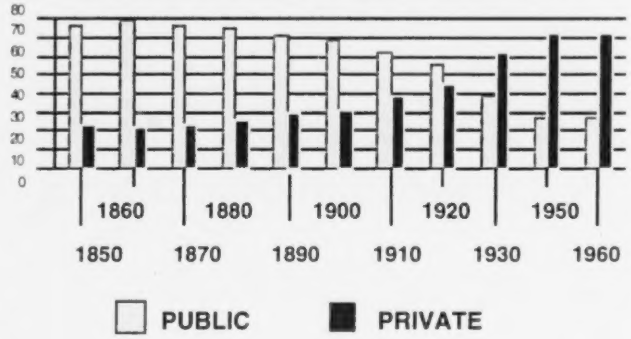
The streaming that charter schools creates, despite its facade of equality, still take place in the Netherlands in the 1990s so one can readily agree with Max Schuchart who argued that:

> ... schools in the Netherlands are, first and foremost, sieves for selection and differentiation. The process of selection does not stop at first admittance, but goes on from day to day; those who do not live up to the school's standards will fail and eventually drop out. At the same time the school continues to cultivate the very same qualities that guide the selection process, such as technical competence in the trade schools and linguistic ability in the classically oriented *gymnasium*.. Moreover, apart from the formally prescribed knowledge and skills, each school tends to pass on to its students a set of congruous cultural values and social manners. [21]

Effect of 'charter schools' on the public schools

Another concern that Albertans should be made aware of is the shift that 'charter schools' caused in regards to public versus private school numbers. To clearly realize the impact of this change the chart on the right indicates the very significant percentage increase in private schools after 1917. The enrollment patterns in both types of schools changed drastically especially from 1920 to 1960, by which time most of the schools were in private hands as they still are in the 1990s. The public schools declined from 88 per cent to 27 per cent in a 90 year period. This is quite astonishing and proves that charter schools can lead to a significant shift in educational policy and societal stratification.

CHART 2: PUBLIC vs PRIVATE SCHOOL PERCENTAGE FLUCTUATIONS 1850-1960



The Ministry of Education

To manage the implosion of new schools the Dutch government established the Ministry of Education on 25 September 1918. Its mandate was to administer financial allocations, inspect schools, produce an annual report, and create educational laws. Educational teaching and practice were left to those in the profession; pedagogy and curriculum were not considered the business of the Ministry of Education, so government interference in determining the content of the curriculum in private schools was eliminated. Nor did the Ministry have responsibility for vocational education, which was private. Education of police, army and seafaring trades also were not within its jurisdiction.

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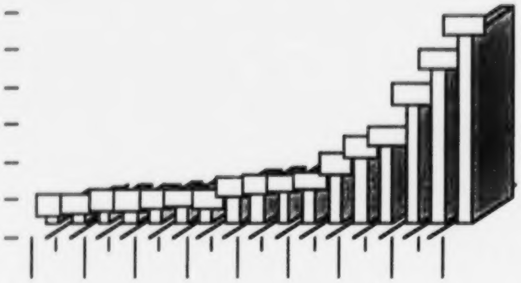
[21] Max Schuchart, *The Modern Netherlands* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), 116-118.

Albertans should also be aware that implementing charter schools results in a bloated administrative bureaucracy. In the Dutch case, the ministry personnel figures expanded significantly from 1918 to 1980. The chart on the right illustrates that the numbers of Ministry personnel from 1920 to 1945 increased nearly 100 per cent with only a slight decrease during the economically turbulent 1930s. Incredibly another 100 per cent increase in the 1945 to 1950 post war period arose due to the rebuilding of the schools that had suffered damage in the war. This resulted in astronomical expenditures, in fact between 1951 and 1957 gross public expenditure on educational administrative expenses increased from 7,436,000. to 79,475,000. Dutch guilders. [22] A nearly 900 per cent increase is incomprehensible.



Conclusion

Although compartmentalization has abated slightly in the 1990s it is still a major component of Dutch society and to a great extent of Dutch education. The Ministry of Education, in a 1989 document entitled "Richness of the uncompleted" confirms this argument and states that the "role of compartmentalization declined in importance after the 1960s, but it is still clearly discernible in many fields. Education offers one of the most striking examples of this."[23] It would be correct to say that in many ways, especially in regard to their educational system, the Dutch are a rather conservative nation despite some of their societal innovations.[24] The end of the education struggle and the implementation of expensive 'charter schools' undoubtedly deleteriously increased societal tensions. J.A. Lauwerys wrote "...the link which should unite and join together has become a source of dissension which weakens the whole body politic."[25] An excessive amount of charter schools had led to problems not only in the Dutch education system but these are mirrored in Dutch society as well. The astronomical costs of such a system clearly is a prohibitive reason for not implementing too many charter schools in Alberta. It is hoped that the Minister of Education understand the implications of the 'charter schools' system and that Alberta does not follow the Dutch example. The creation of the 'charter schools,' rather than create a panacea for parents, students, and government more so than any other factor, has created the educational chaos that the Dutch found themselves entrenched in and which may never be eliminated from their society.

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[22] *Dutch school system*, Zoetermeer: Ministry of Education, (1960): 95.

[23] "Richness of the Uncompleted": Challenges facing Dutch education." Report to OECD. Zoetermeer: Ministry of Education, (1989):21.

[24] See W. P. Ruiter and F.A. van Vught, "Neo-functionalism in Recent Dutch Higher Education Legislation" *European Journal of Education* 25 no. 2 (1990): 219-231.

[25] J.A. Lauwerys, "Prologue" *The New Era* (1956): 96.

The Concept Of Gradualness For A Sustainable Education

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Introduction

> ***The earth should be allowed to rest after a harvest in the same manner that a woman must be allowed to rest after giving birth.***
>
> ***(Barreiro, 1989)***

With all the progresses in science and technology, it would appear that by now we should be in a better world. Is this true? A glance through the present circumstances of people life in this world gives us frightening pictures of untold tragedies such as: hunger, poverty, ailment, war, violence, death, persecution, prostitution, and violation of rights for human, environment and all other living creatures. (Hewitt, 1992)

Worldwide, one of the weaknesses of aid programs is their materialistic approach. In addition to that one of their major shortcomings is their negligence for human beings' ***Fitra*** (Consciousness as the bright-right or the channel of spirituality) for flourishing and empowerment. Majority of educational systems with the same shortcoming are here to empower us with the use of a similar approach. (Carnoy, 1984) We are the victims of this kind of approach. We are only trying so hard to patch our wounds. Let's stop patching our wounds and take steps to prevent, control, and fight against the root causes of our wounds.

A practical approach which it has roots in the hearts and minds of people should be proposed. And, the proposal is the use of a concept named **'Gradualness'**. This concept is what we need to bring into our educational environments. We need to incorporate this concept with the existing **educational systems for bringing sustainability**. We need to have a **sustainable way of education** for bringing **justice and peace** to our life and to this world.

The Concept of Gradualness

The concept gradualness simply suggests that teaching and learning ought to be carried out gradually. It neither offers that education should be prioritized nor to be transmitted in a step-wise fashion. I believe that education can be started from any point of interest. With this hope that the seekers of education can liberate themselves from the existing limiting factors to unfold their human qualities and capabilities. (Ramlakhan, 1980)

Paul Freire(1972&1985) mentions that education is a two-edged sword for either liberation or domestication.(Bee, 1980) Education can be delivered in a way to spawn an oppressive or oppressed attitude in its seekers. This relies on the aims of education. The aims of educational leaders who make policies, assign curriculum, and deliver teaching processes are very influential on the thoughts and behaviors of the innocent learners. Education can be good or bad, right or wrong, useful or useless, constructive or destructive. (Castle, 1970) Lee and Ninnes (1995) agree with Castle when they state:

> The planning of education should be geared to the actual situation in which the plans have to operate, not to preconceived principles based on alien notions of what good education is.

Alfred Whitehead (1957) explicates two important educational commandments "do not teach too many subjects, and again, what you teach, teach thoroughly." Whitehead (1957) has an emphasis on eradication of "the fatal disconnection of subjects which kills the vitality of our modern curriculum." The disconnection can be interpreted as disconnection of subjects from each other and from life and realties as well. Additionally, one other is the disconnection of human beings from each other in result of a very repressive, competitive, and advanced educational processes or technological life style. Although, the devotees of technological advancements claim that technology has brought the people closer to each other. But, they never confess that how badly this closeness has abused the availability of resources and annihilated the living conditions of millions of innocent people all over the world. These devotees are the by-products of the past and existing educational systems, institutions, or communities who are happened to be the world leaders or the policy-makers. Of course, they are managing people in various manipulative ways. People to them are the tools to reach certain ends. They have isolated, fenced, and slaved the people according to their own lust and selfishness. Besides, their selfishness is contagious and has been transmitted to their own devotees as well.

Our strategy to maintain and improve the quality of education is to bring the attention of policy-makers, planners, and practitioners to the concept of gradualness. They should continually reassess and control the adoption of new practices and their effects on learners. Learners should never be pushed to rush through learning processes. Learners should not be exposed to too many ideas at once. An adequate workload should be given to learners to investigate or to accomplish. Learners must be allowed sufficient time to think over and discover the relatedness of the learnt subject matters to their living experiences in various ways. learners should be taught how to ask questions,(Brouwer, 1983) how to refer to the corresponding historical events and philosophical points. They should also be guided to have respect for cultural, traditional, and moral values in their scientific journeys. Teachers can also facilitate and enhance the learning by creating a friendly teacher-student relationship.(Glasersfeld, 1995; Wilson, 1994; Slacks, 1938)

The concept **gradualness** is a process by which we can adapt ourselves to the **equilibrium state of universe** and that includes acclimating of our **attitude, knowledge, understanding,** and our **performances** (*thoughts, talks, and deeds*) as well. The Gradualness concept requires us to take a **TEA** break, meaning taking the following simple processes into our considerations: ***Think** first, **Examine** next, and **Act** last.* The TEA concept should be applied in teaching and learning processes. In doing so, we learn and experience about our responsibilities toward others, human or nonhuman beings. We are also making efforts to think, talk, and act in a very sustainable manner.

The term educational systems or communities used in this paper embraces all kinds of education such as formal or nonformal education in academic and nonacademic environments. (Coombs, 1968) It also includes educational activities from all existing resources such as T.V., satellite, computer networks, Magazines, and all sorts of educational hardware and software. In a paper of this size I can only outline some of the unkind consequences of our modern educational systems. I referred to these unkind consequences as the tragedies resulting from a thoughtless, uncaring, unfeeling, and vicious educational systems.

Our educational systems are badly affected by so many negative factors which are the by-products of the past and existing educational systems. These factors are not allowing the educational systems to function justly, appropriately, and efficiently in the development of individuals and the societies in general. Let's just review some of the most common problem which have made us:

- blind to see the "interconnectedness and inter-relatedness" of all existing sciences and social, economic, and political problems
- careless to see the consequences of our decisions and actions
- incapable to comprehend the importance of spiritual dimensions in compare to our huge tendency towards material aspects
- confuse to realize our real needs and instead capsized and altered our needs beyond what we could imagine

It was based on the theory of Theodore Schultz after World War ***II*** who considered education is the means to achieve economic growth specially in underdeveloped countries. (Alladin, 1990; Galtung, 1976; Schultz, 1961) The economic growth advocated its materialized ends and later confused the people to no longer have trust in their feelings, to become selfish individual and forget about social relations and responsibilities, and to undermine their spiritual capacities. (Alladin, 1990; Apple, 1982; Curle, 1973) We are even adapted to the rootless educational systems which have disconnected us from our valuable history, culture, and traditions. (Coombs, 1968)

It is important to assure the connection of educational contents to the social, economic, and political needs at any region. (Simmon, 1990; Foster, 1980) Indeed, it is more important that educational contents should lead the people to preserve their cultural and humanitarian values. The rapid expansion of western or modern education in South countries has intensified the problems of inequalities in many ways. Wider gap between rich and poor, urban and rural; differences between class, gender, and ethnic groups. (Lee & Ninnes, 1995; Toh, 1987&1995; Katsillis & Armer, 1994; Mphalele, 1990; Akande, 1987; Wang, 1983; Watson, 1980; Foster, 1980&1965; Van Den Berghe, 1978; Karbel & Halsey, 1977; Willis, 1977; Elio, 1976; Troup, 1976; Coleman, 1966)

There are many other tragedies that can be discussed such as:

- Upgradability, Unemployment, and underemployment problems (Lee & Ninnes, 1995; Bacchus, 1981&1983; Hardiman & Midgley, 1982; Coombs, 1968)
- Brain drain (Berg, 1971; Watanabe, 1969; Adam, 1968)
- Diploma disease (Lee & Ninnes, 1995; Little, 1984; Dore, 1976&1984)
- Irrelevant educational programs (Alladin, 1986: Coombs, 1968)

We are the oppressed beings who are breathing in a state of oppression. Thakur (1985) states the interpretation of Paulo Freire in regard to aggressiveness and oppressiveness of formal education movement in the following manner:

> It [formal education] is very repressive in nature and its role is only to socialize individuals in society in such a way that they accept status quo and, hence oppression.

We are imprisoned by series of man-made theories and scientific frameworks or standards. These walls or boundaries that have been created by administrators and faculty members in many academic environments have no valid or legal basis. The domination of hypocrite attitudes of some intellectuals in academic environments is so oppressive and needs to be replaced by honesty, justice, and kindness. It is very unfortunate that prestige in academic environments means to have more publications, presentations, research works for the interests of authoritarians. In fact, majority of us in all facets of our life are sold to some influential forces consciously or unconsciously. Sometimes, we are totally devoted to them for their luxuriant and generosity. We may even think that this world is not livable without the power of their technological progresses.

We should remember that it is not the technology hardware and software that are sold to us, instead, it is us that are sold to them. (Refer to the documentary film "Down of the Eye," about the influence of T.V. programs and other technological equipment on people from different age, race, gender, nation, culture, and language)

Concluding Remarks

In a paper of this size it is difficult to elaborate on all related issues concerning tragedies resulting from educational systems. The outlines given in above is only a beginning and hopefully is enlightening for those who have apprehension about humanity and nature. Readers with their own curiosity will carry out the suggested outlines for more discovery, better, and deeper understanding about what has been happening to us and to our living environment. The socialization of the curriculum contents is required to develop new field of studies and courses for understanding the root causes of tragedies such as:

- Undermining the indigenous knowledge about traditional agriculture, power of natural healing, humanity
- Domination of formally educated individuals over ordinary people who have paid for the education of those few individuals
- Who needs the treatments... the rich or the poor
- What encourages the accumulation of wealth
- By whom the validity of main stream strategies are established - On what basis or purpose we are obtaining or seeking education to become an economic animal or to go beyond ourselves
- Where and by whom all these development programs and its resentful consequences took birth
- Where and by whom all these man-made theories have produced to take over and undermine the divine laws
- Where and by whom the idea of consumerism has been developed to buy and undermine the people

- Where and by whom different cultures and religions are prioritized, sanctioned or denounced in compare to man-made theories of capitalism, communism, and many other 'isms' and different labels are given to different nations
- Where and by whom all those decision where made to cut the woods, dam the lakes and rivers, produce nonessential products (Reebok, Levies, Nike, Coca and Pepsi-Cola, Sony, and so on...)
- Where and by whom the nature of nonhuman things have been greatly valued to the price of lesser attention given to the nature of human beings.
- Where and by whom women and children are exploited and for that have been making believes in people that instead different cultures, societies, religions should be blamed for the violation of Human Rights
- Where and by whom people are seduced for the use of technological hardware and software
- Where and by whom people are taught to waste and abuse the resources and think of the recycle materials as an accumulated wealth
- Where and by whom all these trans-national companies or enterprises are supported
- Where and by whom people are educated to have extreme variations in food, alcoholic and soft drinks, luxury cars, fancy clothes and dresses, fattening and burning fats, fitness clubs and sport equipments, luxury home furniture and appliances, Audio and video tapes and CDs, gambling, recreational sports and hunting and so on...

The guy with the most toys when he dies wins!
(George, 1987)

...And the last but not the least, One of the best strategies to fight against oppression is willingness and awareness.
(Ahmad Sabetghadam, Nov. 29, 1987)

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"Are These The Muslined Pink Young Things To Whom We Vowed and Swore?": Addressing the Gendered Reader in the English Classroom

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Thomas Hardy's poem "At Casterbridge Fair," from which the title of my paper is taken, to me exemplifies quite clearly the difficulties that arise when we try to draw firm conclusions about the meaning of gender in literature. In the first two stanzas of the poem, the speaking persona asks:

> These market-dames, mid-aged, with lips thin-drawn,
> And tissues sere,
> Are they the ones we loved in years agone,
> and courted here?
>
> Are these the muslined pink young things to whom
> We vowed and swore
> In nooks on summer Sundays by the Froom,
> Or Budmouth shore?[1]

As a reader, I am obviously entitled to critique the speaker's opinion of women if I am so inclined. He quite clearly believes that a woman's youth and beauty are her most valuable assets, and patently views their transformation from laughing, carefree nympths into sour, dried-up crones as a deliberate affront to both himself and his listener. In his eyes, they are guilty of disappointing "we" men who used to love them. He says that "They must forget, forget! They cannot know/ What once they were,/ Or memory would transfigure them, and show/Them always fair."[2] It is important, not irrelevant to the poem's artistic merit, that the persona is a man; that he is speaking to another man; that it seems not to matter that these men have aged right along with the women they are denouncing; and that, in order for the poem to make the kind of sense that the speaker wants us to make of it, the reader has to adopt a male subject position and to read the poem through a male set of eyes.

What is not so clear, however, is the extent to which Thomas Hardy can or should be seen as complicit with, or held responsible for, the speaking persona's opinions; the speaker is, after all, not Hardy himself. He is an imaginary creation, the product of a very different cultural and historical context from our own and, it seems, from Hardy's also. Unless we were to read something written by Hardy presenting his own views on the subject of women, we have only a very small number of ambiguous textual clues in the poem to suggest whether he agrees or disagrees with the speaker's attitudes, or whether he is winking at the reader—intending that we read it ironically, possibly inviting us to argue with the speaker's perception of these unlovely and unlovable "market-dames." It is also by no means clear whether or how we should think about this poem and what our responsibility should be if we consider including it on a high-school literature reading list.

The difficulties are even further compounded if we look at the poem not as a deliberately misogynistic and derogatory statement about women, but as an expression of mourning for a woman's powerful and enviable, if finite, sexual attraction, or of an ill-defined anxiety on the speaker's part when faced with evidence that his imaginary, ageless, and ideal woman does not, and never did, exist. This might mean that he too has been corrupted by the vicissitudes of time and that he may be as fragile and as mortal as she is.

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[1] Hardy, Thomas. "At Casterbridge Fair." (1909) The Norton Anthology of Modern Poetry. Eds. Richard Ellman and Robert O'Clair. second ed. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1988. p. 76

[2] ibid

It becomes possible to understand, if not sympathize with, the speaker if we look at the poem as something more than a deliberately constructed intellectual argument or a rational vehicle for conveying the poet's misogynist sentiments. I am not saying that this approach makes the speaker's sentiments acceptable to me or to any reader, female or male, with feminist sympathies. What it does do is force us to recognize the deeper, more opaque, origins of such derogatory stereotypes. It also forces a change in the focus of questions about points at which intervention could be advantageous, and about when and how we can impact notions about gender if they reveal themselves to be so deeply imbedded and have proven to be so recalcitrant because they are composed more of feelings, impressions, prejudices, and gut-level responses than consciously formulated ideas or opinions.

I have spent a great deal of time exploring the relationship between reading and gender, trying to ferret out the hidden assumptions, implications, and considerations that are hidden within and obscured by questions such as: What difference does it make whether a reader of a text is a boy or a girl? What difference does it make whether the author is male or female? What difference does it make whether the text is about male or female characters? What difference does it make whether it is written from a male or a female point or view, or whether the reader is assumed to be male or female? In the process of delving into these questions, I have been prompted to struggle with writings in two separate but inter-related branches of knowledge, and to accommodate to the discomfort caused by the inchoate and precarious project of trying to make some sense of the ways in which they complement each other, where they intersect, and what new understandings might emerge from the friction generated at the points where they collide and, at least apparently, contradict one another.

I began my investigation of the relationship between gender and reading at what seemed to be a reasonable and logical starting point, by looking at writings in the area of literary critical theory—in particular, reader-response and feminist literary theory. Reader-response theory attempts to explain the nature of the transaction between a reader and a text, and includes the work of such theorists as Louise Rosenblatt, Wolfgang Iser, Stanley Fish, Jonathan Culler, and Umberto Eco. All of these writers except Culler share a tendency to talk about an "ideal," "universal," "transcendent," "model," or "androgynous" reader. While they implicitly recognize gender as one determinant of individual psychology, they pay little attention to its actual role or significance. Eco argues very eloquently and elegantly for the need to distinguish between the empirical author of a text, its narrator, and its "model" author, who is, he claims, an ungendered being. He maintains that Mary Anne Evans, the flesh and blood living being, was a *she*, but that George Eliot, the author, has no gender.[3] He goes on to assert that the voice in his own text, *Six Walks in the Fictional Woods*, is "a voice without body or sex or any history," an argument that I find not at all convincing when I consider how difficult it would be to imagine attaching the voice in *Six Walks* with the image of a black person or a woman—in fact, to anybody besides a white, European, highly educated and privileged male academic.[4] Although the voice in the text may not be Umberto Eco's voice, I would argue that it is most certainly *not* disembodied, sexless, or ahistorical.

Feminist literary theory, on the other hand, has attempted to correct and compensate for the exclusions and distortions of this disembodied view of literature by focusing almost exclusively on the material, historical, and phenomenological "lived experience" of women. It interrogates the overwhelming preponderance, cross-culturally and historically, of institutionalized male supremacy, in particular as reflected in and perpetuated by conditions of literary production, publication, and academic literary criticism. This perspective is represented by such authors as Virginia Woolf, Judith Fetterley, Toril Moi, and Patrocinio Schweickart, and has been instrumental in causing some important shifts in our thinking about the nature and the relative value of sexed/gendered beings and gendered attributes. The overlap and the spaces between these two schools of thought have been the source of a great deal of productive and sometimes choleric dialogue, but they do share one basic assumption that significantly limits their explanatory potential. This assumption is that writing and/or reading imaginative literature are rational processes and products of the conscious mind. They conceive of an author or a reader who is more or less aware of the intentions, motives and desires embodied in and produced by a text—one who possesses the ability to analyze, define, and control what it does.

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[3] Eco, Umberto. Six Walks In The Fictional Woods. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994. pp. 13-15.

[4] ibid, p. 25.

There is a another large body of work, however, in the area of psychoanalytic theory, especially psychoanalytic theories founded on post-structuralist conceptions of language, that tends to confound this view, and that mistrusts the notion that either the author or the reader of a text can determine with any certainty what a text says or means. These theorists view with skepticism approaches to literature based on the premise that what an author intends to say corresponds in some uncomplicated and transparent way to the text itself or to the effect that it produces in a reader. They hold this view despite prescriptions about the proper function and methods of literary criticism advocated by writers such as Umberto Eco, who cautions against what he calls "over-interpretation." He is very disapproving of readers who "use the text as a container for their own passions, which may come from outside the text or which the text may arouse by chance."[5] He compares this kind of reader to a person who goes for a walk in a public wood, and then becomes so immersed in his (sic) private thoughts that he pays no attention to his surroundings.

> What had happened to my friend? He had sought in the wood something that was instead a private memory. It is right for me while walking in the wood to use every experience and every discovery to learn about life, about the past and the future. But since a wood is created for everybody, I must not look there for facts and sentiments which concern only myself.[6]

Regardless of these dictums concerning "correct" interpretative practices, psychoanalytic theory recognizes that in fact, our first encounter with a text does not normally follow the rules of "good" (i.e., rational and intellectual) academic criticism. The spectrum of psychoanalytic theories encompasses a wide range of hotly disputed and often contradictory explanations of the dynamics of infantile sexuality and the nature the unconscious—how it comes into being, how it is structured, and how it expresses itself. They attempt to describe the mechanisms whereby an infant comes to construct itself as a gendered being and is able to formulate the notion of him or her "self" as a discrete entity. Psychoanalytic theories—whether derived from classical Freudian Theory; the work of Melanie Klein and her disciples; the Object Relations school of psychoanalytic thought as exemplified by theorists such as Nancy Chodorow and Carol Gilligan; or theories posited on post-structuralist views of language such as Lacanian theory and the work of Judith Butler—all attempt to explain how we learn that we are either "boy" or "girl" and what this means in terms of social dominance and subordination. They all agree (if on little else) that the formation of a gendered identity, although never finished, is fairly well established at an early stage of development—at approximately the same time as the infant acquires language (if not, as proposed by Lacanian psychoanalytic theory, *because* of the acquisition of language).

These theorists—although they do disagree about the specific dynamics, the terminology, and the respective roles played by the mother, the father, and society at large—all see this process as the inevitable result of a primary and inescapable Oedipal crisis whereby the infant is forced to recognize itself as independent and separate from the nurturing caregiver. The trauma of being compelled to relinquish the illusory notion of the infant-caregiver singularity as a complete, self-sufficient and undifferentiated entity lacking nothing necessarily involves repression. Repression necessitates the formation of the unconscious, which might be visualized as a repository of all of the sensory impressions, experiences, and associations that are rejected by our conscious mind because of the primary process of repression. This repository, or locked box, contains the neurological and somatic traces of every sensory impression that the individual has ever encountered. It is only rarely, during moments when, for one reason or another, the conscious mind relaxes its vigilance, that the contents of this box works its way upward, creating cracks and disruptions in the thin, deceptively smooth veneer which overlays the gaps, cracks, and contradictions in the unconscious. These disruptions generally take the form of dreams, jokes, and slips of the tongue, and can also be revealed in imaginative literature.

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[5] ibid, p. 8.
[6] ibid, p. 9.

I would argue that one of the more important functions of imaginative literature is that it also allows us limited access to the unconscious. Psychoanalytic literary theory, represented by writers like Norman N. Holland, Elizabeth Wright, Juliet Mitchell, and Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, interprets Freudian concepts in various ways and explores their relationship to fiction. Psychoanalytic theory recognizes fiction as a manifestation of a great deal more than what the author consciously knows and intends, and reading as more than simply reconstructing the literal meaning of a text by matching words with images of their stable referents in the empirical world. This view of literature acknowledges the primary processes of the unconscious—substitution of one image, idea, action or feeling for another through condensation, displacement, and symbolism—as essential if not always visible components of literature, and as key concepts which can help to unlock its richness and its depths, and which can help to explain the pleasures that it offers to both the author and the reader. Viewed in this way, literature can be regarded as a means of confronting, handling, and/or negotiating our most basic impulses, needs and desires—even though these are often consciously inaccessible or largely incomprehensible—as if protected by asbestos gloves.

Psychoanalytic theory and the notion of the unconscious also contribute a great deal to our understanding of how an infant constructs an identity that is always and already a gendered identity. However they describe the specific mechanisms and the consequences of this fact, psychoanalytic theory argues almost unanimously and very convincingly (with the exception of a few theorists who attempt to sidestep some prickly difficulties by conceptualizing gender as an overlay on an original identity that comes into being without regard to sexual difference) that identity is not an antecedent to gender, but a product of the biological/social definitions of difference that are unavoidably attached to gender.

By asking that we mine psychoanalytic theory for what it can add to our understanding of difficult issues related to gender, literature, and reading, I by no means intend to ignore or devalue more explicitly political work done by feminist theorists such as Virginia Woolf, Judith Fetterley, Adrienne Rich and Patrocinio Shweickart who have sought and continue to seek to change existing gender inequities by focusing on and working toward changes in larger societal structures and institutions. The work that they have done has been widely read and accepted, and it has had an important impact on changing our thinking both about the connections between gender and the way that literature is received and evaluated, and on our attitudes toward the politics of gender more generally.

I have become increasingly aware, however, of the extent to which unconscious anxieties, desires, and preoccupations shape our reading of a text, particularly with respect to issues that have their roots in early family relationships, as any issue related to gender almost certainly does. We may be compelled to respond to a text and to do whatever we do with it less rationally and intellectually than we know or care to recognize. This means that however much people like Umberto Eco disapprove of such personal and undisciplined interpretative practices, we do bring to a text powerful motivations to project onto it what we need to see and feel about gender, rather than receiving the text as a source of new information about how males and females behave that we can analyze and critique intellectually. It seems to me that most of us don't do this naturally, and that in fact that we initially resist doing so, even to the detriment of our own best interest. We all know, both consciously and unconsciously, how gender works, what the "proper" roles and responsibilities of males and females are, and what we expect from relationships between males and females. The split between these two levels of knowledge, and the poor channels of communication between them, explains why most of us hold such ambivalent and contradictory beliefs about gender, and for the most part aren't terribly bothered by, or even aware of, these contradictions. On one very basic level of engagement, we look to literature to support and confirm our unconscious knowledge. It is only through heeding, respecting, and exploring our more primary response to a text and then moving this understanding to a more rational plane that we can begin to establish a clearer dialogue between the conscious and unconscious parts of our mind, and learn to do something new or different with respect to gendered aspirations or relationships, and literature is one point of entry into this process.

One very striking example of this tendency was my experience with a recent rereading of Jane Eyre. Even though I have had the benefit of reading a good deal of feminist literary criticism, and even though I have read and reread Jane Eyre at least half a dozen times since I was about twelve, it still came as a shock to me about a month ago when I noticed several things about the text that I had previously read right through, presumably because I was anticipating a certain kind of exchange with the text. I had completely missed the impact and the meaning of the way that Rochester and his behavior are described, and how we are seduced into accepting Charlotte Brontë's explanation of some extremely unattractive, disturbing, and thoroughly unromantic aspects of his personality and his behavior. A close reading of Jane Eyre reveals a shockingly insightful portrait of an almost stereotypical male abuser and his complicit victim. Rochester's refusal to hear what Jane says when she speaks; his deliberate distortions and misrepresentations of what he does hear; his bullying and manipulative tactics; his attempts to make her feel guilty and responsible for his crimes toward his first wife and his illegitimate daughter; his demands that she become something that he, Jane, and the reader never doubt he will come to despise as not good enough for him; are all depressingly familiar ploys that men use to victimize women and to convince them that cruelty, insensitivity, insincere repentance, and tenderness can all be appropriately be labelled loving behaviors. His treatment of Jane and the way his relationships with other women are portrayed in the text had been rendered invisible to me (and, I suspect, to many readers) because they would otherwise interfere with a reading of the novel as a romance, and Jane's marriage to Rochester as a satisfying ending to Jane's story. It seems to me that the publishing giants that produce books like the *Sweet Valley High* series and *Harlequin* and *Silhouette* romances seem to understand and respect the power of the reader's unconscious impulses better than we as teachers of literature do.

If we take even a cursory glance around us at the many ways in which gender is being discussed and problematized in literature, art, journalism, drama, film, television and every other popular culture medium, we have to recognize that it is not easy to get any kind of a firm hold on "the problem" of gender, which proves to be an endless number of problems. It also becomes increasingly apparent that no matter how we define sex and/or gender, the issues that surround it are being studiously ignored in classrooms as too sensitive, too difficult, and too messy to confront directly, while at the same time, assumptions about gender and rigid rules about how to "do" gender are built into everything we do in schools. As language arts teachers, we have to appreciate that by ignoring and assuming the meaning of gender when we choose, assign, discuss, and evaluate school reading, we are doing our students a grave disservice—particularly our female students, given the existing imbalance of authority and respect assigned to males and to attributes defined as male.

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Political Science As Normalising Discourse

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Introduction:

Political correctness or PC is both a micro-discourse and a constitutive element of the discourse of neo-conservatism. The PC discourse mobilizes and deploys written, spoken and other communicative signs in very technical areas, and engages specialized vocabularies in literature, art, politics, history, science and the like. This aspect of PC has been analyzed *ad nauseum*. Thus, in this paper, I concern myself with the ways in which PC is a constitutive element of the "high brow" discourse of neo-conservative cultural criticism.

A Genealogy of Neoconservatism:

The rise of neoconservatism signalled the first time in over a half century that conservatism became the hegemonic discourse of American political life. It lent intellectual legitimacy to a new pragmatic conservatism in the Americas and Europe. It underwrote the rise of Reagan's Republicans, Thatcher's Tories, and Kohl's Christian Democratic Party in then West Germany in the early 1980s. One genealogy of neoconservatives places them as a contemporary branch of the New York intellectuals, Jewish exiles from the former Eastern Europe and Soviet Union: Irving Kristol, its undisputed "godfather", his wife Gertrude Himmelfarb, and Norman Podhoretz and his wife, Midge Decter. However, it also includes Catholics and other major figures such as Jeane Kirkpatrick, William Bennett and Daniel Moynahan. Many early architects were anti-communists, then framed in terms of totalitarianism (anti-Stalinism), but also antipopulist insofar as they accepted a theory of democratic rule by élites. Moreover, despite their disdain for the academy, some neoconservatives were among the professorate--Nathan Glazer, Peter Berger, Himmelfarb, Seymour Martin Lipset, Edward Shils and Robert Nisbet among them (Westbrook, 1995; Habermas, 1992).

Many of the first generation of neoconservative thinkers were initially classical liberals, and a few recycled Marxists of the 1960s and 1970s (Habermas, *The New Conservatism*, 1992). According to Peter Glotz: "Neoconservatism is the net into which the liberal can fall when he begins to fear his own liberalism". In the 1960s, this liberalism included a commitment to a minimalist welfare state and made them skeptical of Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society and the War on Poverty because they involved extensive state intervention into the ostensibly private sphere; as well as de-segregation leading to "race" integration; and the containment of communism.

Some analysts date neoconservative intellectual legitimacy to the founding of the journal *The Public Interest* by Irving Kristol and Daniel Bell. In fact, an exploration of the journal's views from its founding in the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s registers the ideological shift from liberalism to new conservatism. In the mid-1960s, *The Public Interest* became the site for the articulation of initially small "l" liberal positions on politics and society. However, with the political and cultural developments of the 1960s--student militancy and protests on college campuses; radical nationalism of the Black Panthers and Malcolm X; escapist countercultures, the "New Politics" of George McGovern, and the New Left--the journal became increasingly conservative. By the late-1960s, its perspectives shifted to a politics of nostalgia, regret and disappointment. Thus, in a 1969 essay, Nathan Glazer lamented a left-wing politics--a neoconservative code for their fear of communism--that "wishes to alienate students from their society and government to the point that they do not consider how it can be reformed, how it can be changed, how it can be prevented from making mistakes and doing evil, but only how people can be made to hate it". Similarly, in the then more left journal, *Commentary*, edited by Norman Podhoretz, the new social movements of the late-1960s were posited as a radical threat to a basically good society.

The politics of nostalgia led neoconservatives to take on its apocalytic tenor, or what Podhoretz termed its "exuberantly polemical and combative" style (Westbrook, "The Counterintelligentsia" 1996, 65). This apocalytic rhetoric is especially manifest in neoconservatives' micro-PC discourse. In the social sciences, neoconservatives theorized the new social movements in terms of an "explosion of expectations", "inflated demands", "ungovernability" and a "crisis of legitimation", leading to the 1990s discourse of "accountability". For them, these demands dangerously called for "big government" or an expansion in state activities. As Joachim Heidorn puts it, the ungovernability analysis misplaced the focus on "political organizational forms of parliamentary democracy, individual liberties and civil rights, and movements for greater social justice are dragged before the tribunal usurped by investigations of ungovernability" (cited in Habermas, 27). Consequently, there was a failure to recognize the legitimate claims for a new economic order, the contradictions of capitalism, or the failures of teleological ideologies of modernization. Secondly, the cultural criticism was on two fronts: first, a sustained attempt to discredit left intellectuals and, second, a backward-looking focus or nostalgia for traditional culture, conventional morality, bourgeois religion, patriotism and aspects of folk culture that were thought to have a stabilizing effect on social life (Habermas, 1992).

Peter Steinfels in *Neoconservatives*: (1979, 55) argued that, "The current crisis is primarily a cultural crisis... The problem is that our convictions have gone slack, our morals loose, our manners corrupt" (1979, 55). It led to a targetting of left intellectuals and academic institutions. The critique of intellectuals was both personalized and moralized. Left intellectuals were accused of mobilizing a cultural revolution to legitimate and consolidate their own power and authority, and of generating a "priestly rule of a new class" or "intellectual theocracy" (Habermas, 36-7). In the new lexicon of personal insults, left intellectuals, especially those in academe, were characterised as "agitators", "arrogant", "opportunistic", "cynical", and "decadent". In fact, neoconservatives effectively invoked old epithets and clichés historically hurled at alternative thinkers. A related attack on left intellectuals blamed them for the "crisis in education", and is the early precursor to the PC debates in academe. In order to create space for a return to tradition, neoconservatives attacked the movements and transformations of cultural modernity, and called for a "courage to educate" that focused on teaching basic skills in elementary schools and the promulgation of values such as discipline, industriousness, and neatness. As well, the defense of "traditional values" was linked to a narrow view of institutions of the family, church, and schools. This, too, was a more high brow precursor the 1990s right-wing populist scapegoating of lesbians and gays by blaming them for the decline of the traditional family; or attacking feminists for "moral failures" such as abortion, divorce and single mothers.

In the late-1970s, neoconservatives worried about the defeat in Vietnam and the subsequent "Vietnam Syndrome". They thought the Vietnam defeat was leading to a dangerous isolationism in the face of spreading communism in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The election of James Carter and his focus on human rights, however rhetorical, combined with a sense of national impotence arising from the taking of American hostages in Iran, led many to a make a political rupture with liberalism. The defection to the Republican Party provided the brain power to an Administration otherwise bereft of intellectual capital. The 1980s also marked the institutional legitimation of neoconservatism: in government, private institutes, academic and popular journals, and the like. Thus, for example, William Bennett headed the influential National Endowment for the Humanities, followed by the Department of Education; Jeane Kirkpatrick became Reagan's Ambassador for the United Nations, and later a founder of the National Association of Scholars that apocalyptically accused "tenured radicals" of heralding in a "destruction" of Western civilization, the "decline" of the Western canon, and the "pollution" of culture. Additionally, Podhoret'z son-in-law, Elliott Abrams, became a high ranking official in the State Department, including undersecretary for Latin America, and hence a major actor in Reagan's Contra policies in Nicaragua; Richard Pipes, a Harvard sociologist tookover responsibility for Soviet and Eastern European affairs for the National Security Council; and Kenneth Adelman, a Georgetown

University's Shakespeare scholar temporarily left his faculty position to oversee Reagan's arms control negotiations (Westbrook, 66).

Counterinstitutions and Counterintelligensia:

The president of the Olin Foundation, William E. Simon, worried about the "academic left" and in the late-1970s offered funds to generate a "counterintelligentsia" (Westbrook, 68). Thus began a counterinstitutional proliferation outside government. Midge Decter founded the Committee for the Free World, a rigidly anticommunist association that informally contributed to Reagan's foreign policy. It was also assisted by the American Enterprise Institute. For Decter, the Cold War was, above all else, an "ideological war" and her organization helped found the National Association of Scholars to fight the war on the academic front. Additional intellectual arsenal was provided in *The Public Interest*, in *Commentary*, and a new journal, *The National Interest*, founded in 1985 by Irving Kristol. They were later followed by *The New Criterion*, edited by Roger Kimball, perhaps best known for his rant against academe in *Tenured Radicals* (1988, 1991); *The Journal of Democracy*, *Society*, *First Things*, and *The American Scholar* which provided some of the most esotheric analyses of the alleged ills of PC.

The proliferation of these deeply conservative journals was understood as providing the battle sites for training soldiers of intellectual warfare. Neoconservatives thought "the United States was in dire need of good soldiers who could wield ideas as weapons" (Westbrook, 66). One idea increasingly of interest to neoconservatives was the "new professional-managerial class", distinguished more by ideology than power or wealth, and according to Kristol, most interested in "the power to shape our civilization" (Westbrook, 67-8). Ironically, the neoconservatives are as much a part of the New Class as those they attack, hence the centrality of ideology. However, hurling the label at opponent has proved useful in political delegitimation efforts. Crucial to the "class of civilizations" as Samuel Huntington later called it internationally, was the domestic call for a "remoralization" of politics and society, an attack on crime and juvenile delinquency, single mothers and "illegitimacy", and drug addictions, all seen as a consequent of "moral disarmament". When Lynne Cheney was appointed head of the National Endowment for the Humanities, conservative columnist George Will deemed him the "secretary of domestic defense".

This fuzzy notion of the New Class warfare, more accurately an intraclass warfare, was directed against old liberals, Marxists, and feminists who, according to neoconservatives, constituted a dangerous opponent of "exporting democracy" (Joshua Muravchik actually defends imperialism), of bourgeois values, and of "free" market capitalism. In the 1990s this came to include an alliance with corporate capitalism and with efforts to "reinvent government" by downsizing, outsourcing, deskilling, and the like. As Kristol theorizes it, "If you delegitimate this bourgeois society, the market economy--almost incidentally--is also delegitimated. It is for this reason that radical feminism is a far more potent enemy of capitalism than radical trade unionism". What Kristol and other defenders of capitalism remain silent on is the extent to which corporate capitalism is complicit with so-called demoralization: whether the film industry; the recording industry; or consumerism generally. Rather, neoconservatives focus on the ways radical feminist and postmodern interrogations of the public/private spheres are inherently destabilizing to the bourgeois family and white male privilege that underwrote the traditional script that women stay at home caring for children, the sick and elderly, and men work, and deal with matters of political economy.

In the academy, attacks on members of the New Class are also framed in moral language, specifically directed at feminism, Marxism, postmodernism, multiculturalism, queer theory, and the relatively new programs such as Women's Studies, First Nations Studies, Black and Chicano Studies. Neoconservatives claim the explorations of these "forbidden" areas of inquiry and knowledges are leading to, if they have not already done so, the demise of the academy, and "normal" or "true" scholarship and scholars. Although neoconservative cultural criticism of/in academe purports to a value-neutral and objective stance--some kind of disembodied and decontextualised view from nowhere--it is fiercely ideological and profoundly reactionary: there is a desire to "return" to tradition embedded in the Western canon, and the composition of the faculty and student bodies ostensibly tainted by affirmative action and equity policies. Whatever the fuzziness of the concept, PC proved to be a brilliant weapon in the neoconservative intellectual arsenal. Thus, let me turn now to the neoconservative micro-discourse of political correctness.

Political Correctness: What's In A Name?:

There are any number of things I wish PC stood for: like personal computer, popular culture, pluralistic cultures, or even professional codes. However, it supposedly stands for something more sinister. On his "Firing Line" program in 1993, William Buckley claimed PC was a menace and a bore. A genealogy of PC suggests it first gained currency in the 1940s and 1950s in rather esotheric debates between Marxists and socialists. The issue at that moment was what is the politically correct interpretation of the Marxist corpus, what alliances should be formed, and so on. The term took an hiatus during the heydays of McCarthyism, when conservatives generally went on a hunt for academics and politicians who were communists, socialists and even liberals. McCarthyism's intellectual repression included students finking on their professors, and professors being targeted for being on the left of the political spectrum. The term re-emerged in the 1960s when leftists used, again among each other; however as an ironic, self-mocking gesture. This left self-ironic usage has been strategically elided in recent debates of PC in order to discredit a host of ideas, issues, associations, and initiatives. The most recent incarnation of PC is neither ironic nor mocking. PC's meanings have been reverse and is now associated with "the McCarthyism of the left". However, there are enough leftists using the term to give it resonance across the political spectrum. An interrogation of PC discourse exposes it as an *ad hominem* attack that diverts attention from some fundamental issues facing academe, the state and society in post-modernity.

PC is used to frame a wide-range of oppositional or critical tendencies under the sign of: (a) humourless; (b) homogeneous; and (c) totalitarian orthodoxy. David Bennett has suggested that anti-PC draws "into its magnetic field everything from affirmative action programmes to campus speech codes, gay clubs to multicultural curricula, feminist erotica to animal liberation and single parenthood, the PC stigma functions as an attack on diversity itself" (p. 435). People enjoy using PC for varied reasons. If we are to believe those who rail against PC, we are facing a "crisis," the "greatest threat" to the university, a "menace" of monumental proportions. PC is associated with "thought police," fundamentalism, and totalitarianism. Rush Limbaugh, the popular right-wing talk show host invokes the term at least 25 times in his book inelegantly entitled *See, I Told You So* (1993). Limbaugh uses the analogy of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia to likened PC to "political cleansing" (Limbaugh, 227). He also suggested it was a "threat worse than wartime censorship and McCarthyism" (344) and "the greatest threat in First Amendment history" (344). This apocalyptic tenor, and the religiosity with which it is asserted, is common among those who rail against the phenomena of PC.

Yet, the term PC is quite flabby and imprecise. The bluntness of the term makes having an informed debate difficult, because it is often unclear what the precise object is that neoconservatives rail against. What evidence exists to justify these apocalytic pronouncements and to justify the proliferation of organizations, fellowships, and academics rising up to avenge Western civilization of this scourge of PC? A cursory examination of the literature on PC reveals an important fact: the same tired old "cases" of PC are repeated over and over again to justify this threat. We hear about a few cases from Berkeley, Princeton, Harvard, Duke and perhaps a few other Ivy League schools. In Canada, much of the fuss has been made by academics at eastern universities, doing as they tend to do: being American Ivy League wannabes. They shamelessly mimic their American forefathers. For example, the Association of Concerned Academics mirrors the American National Association of Concerned Scholars.

In the beginning, in Canada, the examples were not even from Canadian colleges or universities. The PC debate was imported into Canada from the United States, with little change in the rhetoric. Thus, John Furdy of University of Toronto claims the "Iron curtain of political correctness is falling in North American universities" (Wubnig, 1993, 1). Similarly, John Fekete of Trent University has written a book *Moral Panic* in which he claims that "The basic notions of liberal education--a critical distance from cultural movements, testing of ideas along principles of doubt and skepticism--are seriously under fire." (quoted in Victor Dwyer, The *Maclean's Guide to Canadian Universities*, 51.) These examples are indicative of the globalization of American culture, and its colonization of Canadian culture, rather than any phenomena called PC in Canadian universities.

PC and its kin Political Incorrectness have become a virtual industry. In a 1993 debate on William Buckley's Firing Line, Green pointed out that references to PC in the United States increased dramatically: in 1988 sopme 101 articles; in 1989 some 306 articles; in 1990 there were 656 articles; and in 1991 some 3,989 articles. PC is a media-fed exaggeration. It is sensationalistic and controversial. It is right-wing political chic, which makes those on the right appear sexy and provocative as opposed to their usually dull debates about debts, deficits and downsizing. Critics of PC become a *cause célèbre* and the industry seems to have made some people's careers, and brought to national attention academics who otherwise would be languishing in obscurity. However, an interrogation of examples from the culture wars produces contradictory results. Neoconservatives suggest Thomas Pangle, a Straussian philosophy professor at the University of Toronto, was denied tenure at Princeton in the late 1970s because he was "too conservative". The left members of the New Class point out that David Mandel was denied a tenure-track position at McGill University because he was too "left-wing". Neoconservatives suggest conservative Judge Robert Borg was denied a spot on the U.S. Supreme Court because of PC. They are silent and, in fact, complicit in, the character assassination of Lani Guinier, who was falsely labelled the 'Queen of Affirmative Action' in the *Wall Street Journal*, and her nomination for the Civil Rights desk in the Attorney General's office was subsequently withdrawn by Bill Clinton.

Audrey Kobayashi, a Queen's University women's studies professor puts the issues quite succinctly. She argues that the old faculty establishment that has dominated academe for so long are, for the first time, being challenged by the gender, social and cultural differentiation within academe, as well as by demands to diversify curricula. Their reaction has been less than liberal or tolerant of difference. Instead, they have reacted with disappointment and outrage. This is ironic since PC critics suggest they are robust and open to critical debate. Although they accuse those who argue for an inclusive university of being part of a "culture of complaint" as University of Calgary political science professor Thomas Flanagan put it, defenders of change suggest otherwise. According to Kobayashi, "Education is often an awkward and difficult affair, and it should be, By making everyone equally comfortable, we are really creating classrooms, and a community, where everyone feels equally uncomfortable (quoted in *Maclean's*, 52).

Conclusions:

PC is constitutive of the neoconservative cultural criticism. It was initially a leftist ironic phrase but has since been appropriated by the political right. It functions as a silencing tactic, a normalising discourse that threatens the heterogeneous objects of attack as abnormal or forbidden knowledges or constituencies. Whele neoconservatives wrap themselves in the mantel of academic freedom, tolerance, free speech and civility--all virtues we typically associate with liberal arts;; their politics is reactionary and repressive. The cloak of liberality is simply that: neoconservative cultural criticism in academe has been illiberal. It forecloses debate and dialogue. To label a person or body of knowledge PC is to rule it out of the court of consideration. This is no way to have an intellectual exchange. PC functions to preserve the status quo. It fails to achieve what might have been its on redeeming value: a desire for civil debate with a diverse community of scholars over a wide range of ideas.

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Teacher Education: Promoting Professional Identity

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Preservice programs of teacher education are the earliest formal introduction to the profession of teaching offered to individuals seeking careers as teachers. These programs pursue a multiplicity of goals and intentions and their fulfillment is influenced by a great many variables. Current research into teacher educator[1] influence on student perspective and practice identifies factors that either facilitate or impede achievement of those goals and intentions (Stephanson, in press)[2]. This paper draws upon that research in examining conditions that impede the intention to develop a professional teacher identity and its inculcation in the minds of students, then presents recommendations and alternatives that may help to overcome those impediments.

Teacher educators introduce students to curriculum and pedagogy in particular subject areas or curriculum specializations and teach them to be specialists in their chosen areas of expertise. In addition, teacher educators express intentions to convey to students a sense of the roles, attitude, and preparation required of professional teachers. In doing so, they promote images of teachers as professionals committed to aspirations of personal excellence in becoming the best teachers they can be. One teacher educator emphatically stresses this point, stating a personal desire:

> *To make them [i.e.: students] feel very good about the fact that they are going to be a teacher who is a professional, who does something noble; and that they will then carry that sense of enthusiasm and mission into their work so that every day will be new and exciting, and every week and every month and every year will be a new, exciting experience (RP:88.01.27)*[3]

A second teacher educator indicates that students "need to know what kind of teacher they want to be [and] they need to have an idea of how to get there" (BP:88.02.18). Another implies a personal commitment to preparing professional teachers in a statement made during the first class of the term, telling students: "you are the product of this classroom and I want to turn out the finest product" (GF:88.01.06). Professor Green continues by stating one of the intentions of the course: "hopefully you will convocate out of here an expert, not only in the [subject] area, but in being able to set up a course in the area" (GF:88.01.06).

The importance of generating or promoting an identity of teachers as professionals is contained in a comment by Professor Red reflecting upon the final year of preservice teacher education that students experience:

> *I think one of the whole goals that we are engaged in here is to ensure that they start to think like professional teachers. Like, if they are going to think like professional teachers they should not be here with their knee hanging out of their blue jeans. You probably know what I am talking about now, anyway...because that is my real thought: that during this fourth year--this is their last preservice year--this is the year when they need to start thinking about, they need to start thinking like teachers. They need to start thinking about what they are going to do and how they are going to do it (RP:88.03.16).*

The ways teacher educators seek to generate or promote professional teacher identity are contained in both the course content they offer and the teaching methods they employ in teaching courses to students. Course planning and design are the preliminary stages by which teacher educators attempt to "change their [i.e.: students'] world view, alter a world view" (BP:88.03.09).

Each teacher educator involved in the research on good teachers and exemplary teaching expresses deeply held convictions about the types of teachers they believe students ought to be and each in his or her own way strives to convey to students in their courses an accurate portrayal of these 'ideal' teacher-types. The differences in course design and in the methods of implementation within the preservice program classroom are substantial and largely a reflection of the unique philosophical or paradigmatic orientations of individual teacher educators. External to the particular courses observed in this study there are factors related to general program structure or administrative organization that influence student perceptions of and perspectives on their preservice teacher education.

A major impediment to the promotion of teacher identity is the structure of the preservice program itself. Program requirements specify that students commence their preservice education by taking courses in Liberal Arts or general education from faculties other than Education. Students are not expected to begin taking education courses until sometime in the second year of a four-year program, thus raising the possibility that prospective teachers do not begin to focus on teacher education courses until the fourth of eight full-time semesters comprising program expectations.

Individuals opting to become teachers enter their preservice programs with career-related questions; in effect, asking themselves: do I want to be a teacher? Do I have what it takes to be a teacher? Would I be a good teacher? What do I need to know to be able to do the job of teaching? What *kind* of teacher do I want to be? Answers to these questions are important to the individuals considering teaching as professional career choices. In response, the program is structured such that students are told, essentially, that their questions are good ones but before they might be addressed students 'must' complete another year--or more--of what amounts to little more than extended secondary schooling. Aside from selecting the non-education courses they prefer to experience, of which even these choices are severely limited or even prescribed, students have little or no control over the introductory phase of their preservice programs in teacher education.

Students who anticipate careers as teachers in many instances have their interests, queries and concerns put aside or dismissed because of program requirements until nearly the half-way point of their preservice career training. In the process there is generated a perception that preservice programs bear little relevance to the practice of teaching, that they offer nothing substantial to inform career choices, and that program components, with few exceptions, are relatively meaningless to the aspiring professional. Many perceive the preservice program as nothing more than a preliminary, necessary requirement for eventually qualifying for certification. In an apparent irony, teacher educators want students to acquire a perception the preservice program is an induction to the profession of teaching while students perceive the program as "a whole lot of garbage" (BS:88.01.15:1;1), and express a desire to complete tedious certification requirements with a minimum of effort so they might "get done, go out, and join the profession" (GS:88.01.22:1;2). Thus by the time education students begin to address questions about career options or the profession and practice of teaching they already have obtained a perspective that they do not need to know what makes a good teacher, or what they individually might require in becoming a professional. Furthermore, perceptions obtained during the first year(s) of preservice education suggest the program does not resolve these issues even if resolution is warranted. Instead, their interests turn to learning only that necessary to pass exams set before them in the different courses fulfilling program requirements.

A second factor obviating promotion of teacher identity emerges from responses to two questions asked of more than fifty individuals, including all students participating as informants in the study, many others not directly involved in the research, and a few professional teachers who are recent graduates from the same program where this study was undertaken. The first question asked respondents if they knew why they were required to take the first year of their programs outside of the Education Faculty, completing courses in Liberal Arts or general education. Nearly all responded negatively while one merely guessed the intention to be a broader foundation of knowledge (RS:88.02.18:1;1), and another speculated that the primary purpose was to provide employment for other faculties (JE:97.1.10). Some students who volunteered for this research did so because they viewed participation as an opportunity to contribute to the improvement of teacher education. One student bluntly states, "I want to give you some feedback from a student's point of view so, hopefully, something will happen from this thesis because there is a lot of garbage that is going on at this university" (BS:88.01.15:1;1). A second respondent stresses, "half the professors here ***are not*** teachers" (BS:88.01.19:2;1), indicating the desire to be a teacher stems from a model experienced in the preservice program:

> *My professor...would stand there and talk, read out the notes...no interaction; she talked. There were no linkages...she drained her notes...and there is no connection.... [The professor was] relaying facts; I mean, I could have gotten them out of a textbook if I wanted.... I thought that I could do a better job than [her]. I felt that, sure, I did not have the knowledge that she did in the subject matter but I really felt that would not be too hard. But the personality that I had and the sensitivity to other people, I felt that I had all the qualities of the makings of a teacher (BS:88.01.19:2;1).*

Another student laments:

> *[That] first year, every day I felt like quitting.... The first year had so little to do with what I wanted to do about teaching; we had all the, what they call the 'elements' and everything. I suppose that right now I would not consider a lot of what I did useful. I mean, you need the background knowledge in every subject area that you teach, that you can draw upon, but this was not it (RS:88.02.18:1;1).*

Students swiftly become disillusioned with their preservice programs in part because they feel the programs do not relate to "what I wanted to do about teaching." Disenchanted, they seek the shortest, easiest ways to finish.

A second and related question inquired whether or not individuals could recall at any point during their preservice education if an instructor attempted to explain how program components 'fit' together, or how the separate courses or program components relate to the profession or practice of teaching. Quite surprisingly, not one person responded "yes." No-one could remember any instructor who attempted to present a comprehensive portrait of the preservice program and what it includes, nor could any recall an explanation of why the various components were seen as important to the preservice education of prospective teachers. As one student points out, "some of it sort of fits into a package but then there is some courses that are not useful to me...that do not fit the package" (RS:88.02.12:2;1). Another states: "it was not like it was making sense; you just could not see the whole picture, like it was a whole bunch of loose ends" (BS:88.01.15:1;2). Even teacher educators acknowledge "their [i.e.: students] courses are all divided up into little chunkified bits" (RP:88.02.17). Professor Red clarifies personal reasons for teaching in a specified way that relates to the preceding:

> *You realize they have learned all these little components in total isolation and that, hopefully, they will put them together when they hit the classroom but unfortunately--and I do not know what you have been reading but a lot of the stuff I have been reading says they are going to teach the way they have been taught--and that is why...I do what I do in this methods class: I figure maybe I will be a recent memory of how they were taught (RP:88.01.27).*

In a similar vein, Professor Blue remarks that a colleague "and I really try to model those things in our teaching style that we feel need to be modeled in their teaching style" (BS.88.02.18). Both of these educators gain considerable credibility through the site-based experiences that are incorporated into their course designs. Students express amazement when "it really does work" (BF:88.03.08), or remark with impressive admiration when theory taught in class is implemented with real children in an actual school: "Red does not just talk about it, Red does what Red says we should be doing: Red practices what Red preaches" (RS:88.02.18:1;1)!

In direct contrast to the preceding is the case in Green Class, where no site-based experience is designed into the course. Professor Green intentionally limits the amount of reading and work expected of students, opting instead for a didactic approach. A wealth of information is conveyed through lectures and course handouts, with assignments and examinations minimized so that students "will not be overworked" (GF:88.01.13). Green does this to maximize the content provided for student consumption in recognition of the limited contact between educator and students resulting from program design constraints (GP:88.01.26). Students from Green group seem less impressed with the course content offered them than those from the other two research groups, expressing disappointment that they could not observe the curricular approaches or teaching methods in actual practice, nor experience them in class through guided or independent practice (GS:88.01.21:3;1 and GS:88.01.22:1;2). Student numbers dwindled to nearly half the original enrollment by the end of the course (GF:88.04.11), and at least one student withdrew after the first examination because it did not meet the student's expectations (GS:88.01.22:2;1). It appears that curricular and pedagogical theory without experiential grounding in practical situations or lacking the benefit of reliable eye-witness affirmations about the efficacy of course content transferred to teaching applications leaves students questioning the value of preservice courses they enter.

A final obstacle to promoting teacher identity revealed through this inquiry relates to course delivery and teaching styles in the separate classrooms. While different professors have unique traits that sets apart each one from other teacher educators, there seems to be a significant effect arising from the inclusion or exclusion of certain principles of adult education in content presentation, course activities, and student participation. All three groups use role-play and simulation activities that place students in situations where they are expected to respond as elementary pupils would within a prescribed situation, and all groups incorporate elements of effective ways to teach adults. Distinctions between the three educators' implementation strategies and teaching styles, and the diverse results suggest a need to incorporate principles of adult education[4] in course design throughout programs of preservice teacher education (JE:88.01.29).

Knowles (1980), in a disquisition on modern practices of adult education, identifies seven "conditions of learning," and relates to them sixteen "principles of teaching," that are pertinent to the conduct of preservice teacher education. The seven conditions of learning are:

> *1) The learners feel a need to learn;*
> *2) The learning environment is characterized by physical comfort, mutual trust and respect, mutual helpfulness, freedom of expression, and acceptance of differences;*
> *3) The learners perceive the goals of a learning experience to be their goals;*
> *4) The learners accept a share of the responsibility for planning and operating a learning experience, and therefore have a feeling of commitment toward it;*
> *5) The learners participate actively in the learning process;*
> *6) The learning process is related to and makes use of the experience of the learners; and*
> *7) The learners have a sense of progress toward their goals (Knowles, 1980: 57-58; numbers in parenthesis added).*

In the three groups participating in this study there were incidents or circumstances where one or more of these conditions were not met resulting subsequently in adverse influences on students' perceptions and/or perspectives.

The preceding issues indicate different areas within preservice programs of teacher education that result in detrimental effects on promoting and inculcating in students' minds an identity of the teacher as professional. Several recommendations may be deduced from the above offering alternatives that may overcome those impediments.

The first recommendation derives from the overwhelmingly negative consequence arising directly from the program's structure and organization. Students' perceptions of the value and relevance of the preservice program are adversely affected by an inappropriate emphasis during the first half of the program on non-education course requirements. The desirable intention of promoting teacher identity is obviated because students first obtain perceptions that they do not control their own educational destinies, that the preservice program fails to address their concerns, and that it does not relate to the profession or practice of teaching. They develop perspectives that the program is little more than a prerequisite "hoop" through which they must leap to obtain teacher certification and not an induction into the profession of teaching. One way to overcome this negative perception is that program components be re-ordered to provide students with opportunities during the first year to acquire site-based experiences; in effect, to observe the professional practice of teaching from the teacher's side of the chalkboard. The re-organization or re-sequencing of program components ought to include opportunities through any of a number of course offerings for students to address concerns about decisions to pursue careers as teachers, so they might make more informed choices both about the areas of specialization they may prefer and the areas in which they might concentrate their preservice educational experiences. In recognition of the fundamental and disruptive nature of this recommendation there is a second, less drastic measure that might be implemented.

The preceding recommendation is not intended to devalue Liberal Arts or general education components in preservice teacher education. Rather, such a move would situate those courses across the duration of the program, perhaps shifting a lion's share of them closer to the final year when students have a better understanding of the value and place of general education components in an on-going commitment to become the best professionals they can be. A move toward the latter stages of preservice education programs may very well increase the perceived value of such courses among students.

The re-organization and re-sequencing of program components is a substantial undertaking that already is a topic of debate in discourse on reforming teacher education (Wideen and Grimmett, 1995, and others). While this recommendation might seem unrealistic it is necessary for, without its occurrence, program goals--such as promoting a professional teacher identity, among others--can never be obtained to the degree desired because of obviating factors inherent to the existing program's structure. In the interim some alternatives are available as stop-gap measures, such as the next recommendation

The second recommendation involves only minor adaptations to existing program structures and gains credence from a current failure to help students comprehend the preservice program and its specific relevance to the practice of teaching. This recommendation involves the development and inclusion of a seminar on teaching and teacher education that continues from the first week of a student's program through to graduation in the final year. This seminar could address a wide range of topics and issues related to education and the practice of teaching, providing opportunities for students to confront concerns, develop insights about teacher education programs and the profession of teaching, and acquire an understanding of the relationship between program components and the 'real world' of teaching while being exposed to and obtaining a sense of identity as professional teachers. Establishing this seminar offers a thread of continuity that connects discrete, disparate, "chunkified bits" and may help individual students begin to "see the whole picture."

Students could remain in one seminar group throughout the duration of their preservice programs, or be involved in more than one. Seminar groups might be connected to particular subject areas or curriculum specializations. Each year's graduating students could be replaced by new recruits entering the first year of their programs, thus promoting a professional ethos and teacher identity among students while bringing together a multitude of perspectives in a cooperative environment of collegiality, collaboration and critical reflection. Alumni might then become valuable resources as guest speakers or through offering their classrooms as potential locations for site-based or practicum experiences. Such a seminar may offer substantial benefits in terms of the education and practice of professionals as well as through the establishment of networks among teachers that ultimately reduces some of the stress, alienation and isolation experienced by recent graduates who obtain placements as new teachers[5].

A third recommendation is to incorporate early and recurring opportunities for site-based experiences throughout preservice teacher education. First-year experiences might be related to courses that address fundamental structures and/or processes of teaching, education and schooling. Courses in educational 'foundations' or psychology might utilize site-based experiences to provide opportunities to integrate theory with practical experiences or applications, offering students a means of deriving greater insight and understanding from the lectures and seminars they attend on Campus. Subsequent experiences on site might establish links between curricular or pedagogical theories and the practicalities and dilemmas of implementation. Such opportunities may allow students to comprehend or even assimilate previously incomprehensible concepts, course content, or methods formerly perceived as impractical or undesirable. Repeated site-based experiences grounds theory in lived experience.

The final recommendation proposed in this paper is tied to each of the preceding suggestions. Efforts ought to be intensified to improve the professional education and practice of teacher educators so they become knowledgeable about and informed of the principles of andragogy. There are a great many strategies and techniques that require minimal financial backing or political will which teacher educators might institute in their own classrooms to facilitate the intentions and objectives they set for themselves, as well as to achieve program or institutional goals. Students ought to have greater control over the decisions shaping their preservice teacher education experiences. Perhaps each semester or new school year might involve a process of negotiating learning contracts that help students identify areas within the program toward which they might direct their interests and efforts during the impending school term. This must go beyond the myopic vision and inadequate option of offering a limited number of courses and alternatives; this may, in actuality, require that the current notion of "program course" be reconceptualized. Students need to feel that decisions about program directions and course selections are theirs to make. Adult learners deserve the freedom to be self-directing, autonomous learners. Anything less undermines the very concepts and institutions upon which democratic nations are founded.

Teacher education is being challenged in a multitude of ways to re-assess its role and function in society. In its present manifestation it fails to meet the needs of both the students who seek careers in the teaching profession and the clients who are to be served by these prospective and aspiring teachers-to-be. The research supporting the position argued in this paper provides insight into the present practice of teacher education and informs possible alternatives that may be better suited to meeting the needs and aspirations of students enrolled in teacher education. As a new millennium draws steadily closer, now would be the time to take necessary steps to cast off the impediments of bygone eras and reach for new horizons, moving teaching and teacher education into and beyond a new age.

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Notes

[1] Teacher educators are identified in this paper as those professional educators whose primary teaching responsibilities within preservice teacher education programs involves the design and implementation of courses on curriculum approaches and/or pedagogical methods. While there is no intention to ignore the role of other instructors involved in the education programs of preservice teachers, their influence was not examined in the research upon which this paper is based.

[2] This research, reported in a thesis titled, ***Good Teaching and Exemplary Teachers: Preservice Teacher-Educator Influence on Student Perspective and Practice***, is a qualitative study using Glaser and Strauss' (1967) methodology for discovering grounded theory. Inquiry was undertaken to identify ways teacher educators attempt to convey to students a sense of personal images of ideal teacher-types. The study involves three faculty members from a Canadian university's Elementary Education department and twenty-two of their senior-year students (combined total) enrolled in courses on curriculum and pedagogy and specializing in specific curriculum or subject areas. In the study, attention was directed to uncovering what takes place in preservice teacher education and to identifying factors that facilitate or impede the intentions of teacher educators, with a focus on the influence they might have on students' perspectives on or practices of good teaching or exemplary teachers.

[3] Citations referring to data from the research identified in footnote # 2 begin with a two-letter prefix (RP), where the first letter refers to one of three colours (**R**ed, **G**reen or **B**lue) identifying the separate observation groups participating in the study. The second letter identifies a data source as **P**-Professor or teacher educator, **S**-student; **F**-field note, or **V**-video record. The prefix is followed by a colon (:) and then, with the exception of data from students, by the date the particular excerpt was obtained. Data from student sources begin with a two-letter prefix and colon, then a date-colon-numeral combination that identifies a particular student. This is followed by a semi-colon (;) and a numeral that identifies the number of the interview from which the excerpt derives. One other data source begins with the prefix **JE**, followed by a colon and date; this identifies the data source as a **J**ournal **E**ntry and the date the entry was recorded.. The three teacher educators involved in this research are identified only as Professors Blue, Green, or Red--sometimes using these colour-terms in place of proper nouns or pronouns--and students enrolled in their respective classes by the corresponding colour code and number sequence as described. This system was developed at the onset of data collection and initial intentions to replace those identification codes with pseudonyms for subsequent presentation of research findings using a case-study format was obviated when the case-study approach was deemed to compromise the guarantees of anonymity and confidentiality given to individuals consenting to participate in the study. In addressing the ethical concerns of anonymity and confidentiality, teacher educators' personal names and the pronouns referring to them or their gender have been replaced with referents indicating only the appropriate colour code. In addition, references to the curriculum or subject area in which each teacher educator specializes has been deleted and replaced with a generic reference to 'curriculum' or 'subject.' A full explanation of the manner by which ethical concerns are addressed is contained in the chapter on research methodology in Stephanson (in press).

[4] Malcolm Knowles (1980, and in Jarvis, 1987), describes five differences that distinguish pedagogy (teaching children) from andragogy (teaching adults): (1) the concept of the learner and the learner's self-concept; (2) the role of experience; (3) readiness to learn; (4) orientation to learning; and (5) source of motivation to learn. From a pedagogical perspective the learner is conceptualized as dependent upon others, has little experience to contribute to the learning process, becomes ready to learn when told by others they have to learn, has a subject-centered orientation and is motivated by extrinsic influences. Andragogy conceptualizes the learner as self-directing and self-responsible, with an accumulated body of experience that serves as a resource for learning, becomes ready to learn as a consequence of life experiences, has a task-/life-/problem-centered orientation and derives motivation to learn from intrinsic desires and impulses.

[5] See for example Blakey *et al.* wherein new teachers express concerns about problems they face when striving to cope with and survive the responsibilities and stresses related to initial placements as practicing professionals.

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Globalization: Friend or Foe?

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The Enlightenment shaped modern social and political thought by suggesting that the highest moral endeavour was a universal community of humankind (Bull, 1977). The belief in the universality of needs and wants for human beings underlies this notion. McGrew (1992) points out that this vision has shaped Marxism which has been committed to the eradication of structures deemed to suppress the realization of a cosmopolitan world based on equality and liberty for all. Indeed it was Marx who first wrote about this convergence of society 150 years ago. As we near the end of the twentieth century, the idea of the world as a single place has been reinforced. On a political map the boundaries between countries are clear, but from space--an image that technology brings to us almost instantaneously--borders do not exist and today this borderless world is becoming more of a reality. Political events like the collapse of communism, decolonization, the diffusion of democracy and the growth of international political bodies like the UN; economic events including the transition to post-industrialism, the increase in world trade, the internationalization of labour and the mobility of capital and transnational corporations; social events like the growth of international movements and the increase in the flow of people across borders; and cultural events such as the international spread and increase in awareness of many art forms have been fuelled by incredible technological change resulting in a compression of time and space. Together these changes signal the collapse of barriers and the emergence of a single global community.

Globalization is the term used to refer to the intensification of global interconnectedness. Ten years ago, talking about globalism would have been unheard of but today the term globalization is accepted and recognized. Globalization does not involve cultural homogenization or global political integration but patterns of awareness and interconnectedness that remake the world as a single social space. Globalization refers to the multiplicity of linkages and interconnections that transcend nation-states. It defines a process through which events, decisions and activities in one part of the world can affect individuals and communities in distant parts of the globe. This paper will briefly examine some of the positive and negative consequences of globalization with particular attention paid to economic and cultural changes, and feelings of nationalism and identity.

ECONOMY

The engine driving this social change is, as Marx indicated, largely economic. International trade, buoyed by trade agreements and organizations, the ease of the flow of capital and a greater interdependence across nations accelerates this convergence. In search of new markets, large corporations have shrunk the world--in search of greater wealth, large nation-states have set up trading blocs. Governments are embracing international trade, accelerating the exchange of products and ideas. Supporters of free-er trade believe that a global market will bring global prosperity. In theory, the more global the economy, the higher the incomes will climb and the lower the prices will fall (McGinn, 1995). This has led to economic growth in many countries around the world. According to Thomas d'Aquino (1997) "At no time in history have the prospects for social progress, democratic development and human rights on a global basis been so favourable as they are now." In the last decade economic growth in developing countries averaged 5.5 per cent, more than double the rate in the industrialized world. During this time growth in exports approached an average of 9 per cent per year, and imports grew even more. The previous decade saw growth of 2.5 and 4.1 per cent respectively. Over the past three years life expectancy in developing countries has increased more than 30 per cent and school enrollment improved from less than 50 to 77 per cent (d'Aquino, 1997). Industrialization, urbanization, increasing levels of literacy, education, distribution of wealth and social mobilization are purported to be a result of globalization. Producers and consumers sharing a common interest can result in collective action in solving global problems. International organizations like the World Trade Organization, General

Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Monetary Fund, the Organization of American States and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation have evolved to encourage this action.

Unfortunately the power wielded by producers leaves the voices of marginalized groups unheard. While capitalism has brought development and material benefits to some parts of the world, it has not tackled the problems of underdevelopment and poverty in other areas. Market value seems to undermine traditional values. Globalization has exported consumerism worldwide and people increasingly rely on money as there criterion of value. Social values decrease and lose importance as personal lifestyles gain influence. The public are regarded as consumers instead of citizens. The free market is unresponsive to wealth redistribution and survival of the fittest reigns.

While the last vestiges of colonialism are dissolving, a new form of colonization results in transnationals seeking cheap labour to produce products for the first world. Labour, health and environmental standards are pushed to the lowest common denominator. Nike, a transnational sporting goods manufacturer, rents plants in six Asian countries. When South Korean workers rallied for change, Nike moved production to China. The South Korean government, in an effort to become more competitive, responded with legislation designed to erase both job security and unions, which resulted in recent street demonstrations and strikes. Labour cost of a $70 Nike shoe is $2.75. In China, where the shoes are produced, the daily wage is $1--Nike pays Michael Jordan $55,000 a day to wear them (Olive, 1996). British workers are protesting against the Walt Disney Corporation's manufacturing of goods in Haiti where workers are paid 6 cents an hour (Reuters, 1997). Almost 15,000 children work full time in one Pakistani city making $22 a month sewing goods for the first world (*Edmonton Journal*, 1997). In Guatemala workers who sleep on dirt floors in shacks, furiously pick coffee beans in an attempt to satisfy North America's coffee fetish. They receive $3 for every 100 lbs of coffee beans they pick (Lindgren, 1997). According to a recent study, globalization has resulted in an increase in wage disparity between skilled and unskilled workers in developing nations (*OECD*, 1996). Women and the lower class are most often the victims of this type of exploitation.

The free market is not concerned with societies well-being, working conditions or the environment. Environmental activism played an important role in initiating the realization that what occurred in one part of the world had global implications. Yet with the increased emphasis globalization places on economic competitiveness, the environment has been forgotten. Recent legislative changes in Canada have emphasized how transnational corporations have influenced governments at the expense of the environment. Transnational corporations are responsible to shareholders, not to communities.

Globalization tends to reinforce inequalities of power between marginalized groups, producing global hierarchies of privilege, control and exclusion. To quote McGrew, "Globalization has been profoundly divisive and the effects of this divisiveness are yet to be fully experienced" (1996, p. 76). A new form of capitalism has emerged with production, trade and finance organized on a transnational basis to reap maximum economic advantage in a highly competitive world. Organizations like the G7, The World Trade Organization, the World Bank and The International Monetary Fund all exist to regulate this interaction but more importantly to ensure its existence. But no nation exists by the balance sheet alone - stories, song, dance, music, and art are the lifeblood of a nation - the cultural images that define a people.

CULTURE

Marx and Engels wrote about a global culture erasing humanity's divisions (Smith, 1990), yet it is unlikely that a single global metaculture will ever emerge. There will never be a single set of values, beliefs, styles or symbols. Even the United Sates has failed to produce a single national culture through melting pot assimilation. But communications networks make possible a more intense interaction between people separated by thousands of miles, cultures, borders and ideologies. Globalization, a coming together of different peoples with different traditions can provide a rich and healthy variance. This convergence may result in new and interesting cultural forms. We in Canada are well aware of the rich contribution blended cultures can make. The convergence of peoples can improve international tolerance and co-operation and result in a post-colonial, post-modern type of co-existence.

Today, cultural products from all over the world are available to be shared in the global marketplace. More than half-a-billion people watch MTV and CNN is seen in 130 countries (*Globe & Mail*, 1996). Unfortunately the process of cultural exchange is largely unidirectional, flowing from large powerful industrialized cultures to poorer ones creating a culture of dependence not unlike the resource economies during the days of colonialism. Local cultures decline when faced with the powerful Disneyfied McCulture that confronts them. Cultural products are the second largest export for the United States (Conlogue, 1993) and this has resulted in countries like Canada and France fighting a losing battle in an attempt to stem the American cultural invasion. Globalization has provided the Americans with weapons like the World Trade Organization and other trade agreements. As the global economy demands cultural industries grow stronger to survive, concentration of ownership will undoubtedly occur. Size makes it easier to achieve economies of scale to survive global competition. Transnational corporations, through a process of acquisitions, mergers and investment have achieved a remarkable and disturbing degree of concentration.

Economic globalization poses an unprecedented challenge to public policy in the area of culture as the fragile balance between economics and culture formerly ensured by the state is called into question (Raboy, et. al., 1994). Economic globalization questions the traditional basis for state intervention in the cultural sphere. The economic approach to cultural industries views them as no different than other industries, and best served by an open marketplace. The global industrialization of culture presents a real danger to the expression of local and national diversity. An open economy creates a dependence on external markets even in the cultural sphere, but culture is vitally important in defining and forming a society. The benefits to society that cultural goods can provide outweigh the rewards of the free market. Commercial cultural forms in the free market fail to promote a wide range of values (Audley, 1994). Audley believes that communities and nations whose past is not reflected in their cultural works are as handicapped as individuals afflicted with amnesia (1994).

Under globalization, culture begins to be viewed as a commodity and cultural activity becomes associated with consumerism. An open economy clears barriers to participation. For producers this creates a greater potential audience, but producers must now plan their projects by thinking globally, the audience is not just Canada, but increasingly the entire world. The local must become the global. The result is that people discard traditions based on culture and history in favour of more western attitudes. Communities should have access and exposure to contact with their own cultures.

It is estimated that half of the world's present 6000 languages will disappear by the middle of the next century, chased away by satellites, cellular telephones and the Internet which demand a universal language (AP, 1995). Vast telecommunications systems and computerized networks of information cross cultural and national boundaries with the new international language of bits and bytes, pounds, dollars, lire and yen.

The global media can play an increasingly significant role in promoting free speech and fostering demands for democratic reforms internationally. Global communications technology has emerged as a new powerful force for change. Due to a global media, even small injustices should not go unnoticed. Unfortunately the world media--dominated by the western media in pursuit of profits--is often uninterested in playing the role of watchdog as economic concerns replace social concerns. For Benedict Anderson it was the emergence of national forms of media that made possible the development of common interests in regions (1983) which led to feelings of nationalism. Today global forms of communication unite international communities in much the same way.

NATIONALISM

Globalization sweeps away the remaining vestiges of nationalism, a sometime hideous force that has resulted in bloodshed, racism and ethnic cleansing. When nation-states were the ultimate global authority the danger of international war was constant. That threat has subsided with the decline of the nation-state. Today's international wars are largely fought thorough economic trade. Porter argues that nations have an even greater role to play with the increased emphasis on global competition--improved educational systems, better job training and providing an even playing field are all necessary for countries to be competitive and must be provided by the state (1990).

One of the most often cited results of globalization has been the spread of democracy. The fall of communism and the decline of colonization has resulted in many countries embracing democratic ideals. Yet democracy, and its emphasis on equality and public decision making, is incompatible with capitalism and its belief in inequality and decisions made to benefit those in control. A strong, effective nation-state is an impediment to capitalism seeking cheap labour and free markets. The withering away of the effectiveness of the nation-state allows capitalism to flourish on a global scale (Laxer, 1993).

As our interconnectedness increasingly transcends national boundaries we must recognize the global forces at work. The global financial system, transnational communications, the flow of people across national borders and the growth of institutions with authority above the nation-state redefine our concept of a national society. Today goods, capital, people, knowledge, images, pollution, crime, beliefs and values flow across invisible borders. The existence of global systems of trade, finance and production bind together the prosperity and fate of households, communities and nations. Territorial boundaries are therefore arguably increasingly insignificant. The nation state no longer dominates international politics, but shares the scene with international organizations, transnational corporations and transnational movements. This raises the important question of whether the nation-state and the national political community will remain viable. An equally important question concerns the identities of the resident of these crumbling nation-states.

IDENTITY

The national culture into which we are born historically provided a principal source of identity, but as the importance of the nation-state declines, so too does this source of identity. The state provided a focus for personal and communal identity. Place is also important in establishing identity but as technology shrinks the world, the concept of place and community is altered. Globalization stimulates a search for new identities. Where links of culture, history and territory are broken the idea of identity becomes problematic. As a consequence people retreat into fortress identities. A resurgence in ethnic and religious nationalisms has been witnessed in Serbia, Bosnia, Croatia, Afghanistan, Algeria, Rawanda, Zaire, even Quebec. While international conflicts may be declining, ethnic conflicts have increased substantially. The closer completely diverse cultures have been drawn together the more vigorously they defend their otherness. Benjamin Barber (1995) calls this McWorld and Jihad, with McWorld contributing to a convergence of people at the same time Jihad reinforces their differences. While McWorld is about profit, Jihad is about identity. Or as Regis Debray writes, it is Coca-Cola versus the Ayatollah (Levin, 1995). The latter force often manifests itself in the politics of exclusion--exemplified in France by anti-immigration legislation and the gains made by strong right-wing political parties, in Quebec by the separatists, in the United States by the American militias and in the former Soviet states.

CONCLUSION

The globalization intellectual debate was stimulated in part by a desire to understand and explain the nature of the socio-economic changes which appeared to be enveloping advanced capitalist societies. Global recessions, the threat of nuclear war and the environmental crises led to the realization that the fate of individual national communities were becoming increasingly bound together. This awareness was reinforced by a powerful global media capable of bringing distant events to the attention of a massive global community (McGrew, 1992). Today globalization has become a widely used term within media, business, education, financial and intellectual circles.

Globalization is not an inherently evil process. The discovery of differences between cultures can lead to an understanding between peoples and an increase in the knowledge across borders. Learning about other cultures and peoples can help alleviate tensions which have always existed. The globalizing process can indeed have positive results (Havel, 1994). Some even feel that capitalism and democracy can overcome religious, ethnic and political divisions (Ohmae, 1995). Globalization seduces us with these promises of progress. Yet resistance to the process and its consequences is becoming more common and only the future will determine the results.

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Endangered Indigenous Languages

Lynne Wiltse

Nature of the Study

Aboriginal[1] languages have always been an integral part of Native culture; however, many of these languages are extinct, while others are in varying stages of endangerment. There is a growing concern among Native people for the survival of their languages. Most healthy Aboriginal languages are located away from urban centres as there is a strong tendency for Aboriginal languages to decline in urban environments. The role of community in language revival and maintenance efforts is critical.

This paper is based on research conducted for my Master's thesis, *The River Flows Both Ways: Native Language Loss and Maintenance*. The purpose of my research was to situate aspects of Native language in an urban school setting where a homogenous language community cannot be assumed. Although, in many respects these students are among the "least likely" to be using a Native language, it cannot be assumed that traditional languages do not hold value for them. The fieldsite was one where the students expressed an interest in Native languages although none were officially taught. Their views offer a unique insight into the urban experience as it pertains to Native languages. The research explores the source of this interest and considers how the interest could be brought to fruition.

A qualitative methodology was used, drawing on three data sources: the literature; personal teaching experiences; school-based fieldwork. Seven students from a Native Awareness class in an Edmonton inner city school and their teacher were interviewed[2]. Data collection techniques included participant observation and field notes, journal reflections, and unstructured interviews. For the purpose of this paper, I have focused on the following elements of endangered languages: language health categories, the language loss process, awareness and implications of language loss, language shift, and language transmission. The voices of the research participants substantiate the literature[3].

Language Health Categories

Of the 5,000 or so languages currently spoken worldwide, 80 to 90 percent of these are spoken by indigenous peoples, representing almost all linguistic diversity (Bernard, 1993). A few Native language communities are healthy, but many are fragile, with relatively small numbers of speakers. Many indigenous languages are already extinct. Krauss (1992) distinguishes between what he defines as moribund, endangered and safe languages. Moribund languages are those that are beyond endangerment, endangered languages are those which will cease to be learned by children during the coming century, and safe languages are those with official state support and large numbers of speakers. Few indigenous languages fit into this category. Krauss sees a 90% language death rate to be a plausible calculation for minority language survival.

The terminology linguists use to describe the health of a language varies. Schmidt (1990), studying Australia's aboriginal languages, categorizes language loss accordingly: healthy, weakening, dying, dead. A healthy language is transmitted to children and actively spoken by all generations. A weakening language is not fully transmitted to younger generations. A dying language has extremely limited social use. Dead or extinct languages are those with no speakers remaining. Similarly, Fredeen (1991), in a sociolinguistic survey of indigenous languages in Saskatchewan, adapts terms used to describe the condition of ill or injured patients in hospitals to report on the status of languages: dead; extremely critical condition; critical condition; serious condition; fair but deteriorating condition; good health, but showing a few symptoms of ill-health. Regardless of the terminology, the statistics paint a bleak picture for indigenous languages.

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[1] I realize there are legal and other differences sometimes associated with these terms, but for the purpose of this work, the terms indigenous, Aboriginal, and Native will be used interchangeably. I will use the term which is most accurate for the particular context which I am addressing.

[2] Approximately 30% of the school population is Native. The school does not have a Native language class, but a Native Awareness class has been developed to accommodate students with Native ancestry.

[3] The names of the research participants have been changed. The teacher appears as Kelly and the students who are represented in this paper are Johnny, Fabio, Santeca, Candy, and Shelly.

In a report on indigenous languages in Canada, Foster (1982) categorizes chances of survival for Canada's 53 Native languages as follows: excellent chances of survival; moderately endangered; endangered; quite endangered; extremely endangered; and, verging on extinction. Each assignation is based on number of speakers.

Language Loss Process

A language is lost in one of two ways; the first occurs when all the speakers of the language die so that there is nobody left to transmit the language. The second type of language loss occurs when speakers of the language choose not to actively speak or transmit their language to younger generations. A language shift process then occurs whereby the local language is gradually replaced by the dominant code which becomes the first language of the younger generation (Schmidt, 1990). When such language shift takes place within groups that do not possess another territorial base, the result is language death. In the case of many indigenous groups, they lack critical (language) population mass; if the language of an Aboriginal group dies there is nowhere that subsequent generations can go to renew it (Harris, 1990:69). The rapidity of the language shift process varies, ranging from abrupt shift within one generation to a more gradual one lasting four or more generations.

Schmidt (1990) identifies five stages in the language loss process: most community members are fluent speakers of the language; some people still speak their first language, but other community members are speaking a second language; the language is weakening as it is no longer being passed on to the younger generation; there are no fluent speakers of the language remaining; there are no speakers of the language left.

A major problem for the maintenance of aboriginal languages is the phenomenon of delayed recognition of language loss where speakers do not recognize the threat facing their linguistic heritage until it is almost too late (Schmidt, 1990:31-33). Schmidt notes that, typically, recognition of the impending language threat is triggered by the realisation that the community's link will be lost upon the death of the remaining older fluent speakers. This problem is exemplified in a study (McAlpine & Herodier, 1994) carried out in nine Cree communities in Northern Quebec to determine how the Cree viewed the state of their language. The most common problem cited was discovering the loss of the language too late to be able to preserve it.

Awareness of Language Loss

Learning about language loss had a profound impact on me, but I wondered how many other people are even aware of indigenous language loss. I knew Kelly had talked with her class about endangered and safe Native languages in Canada:

> Well, it was part of my Native Studies 210 and part of what I wanted the students to learn, to *know* I guess, not so much to learn, but at least to have the idea that there's hundreds of languages extinct and because there's *so* few Native people that it's really important that we learn our language and have it carry on because it's a possibility even though there are a lot of Cree speakers that Cree could become extinct one day.

I wanted to know if Kelly knew "that Cree could become extinct one day" before learning this in the Native Studies class. I took Kelly's explanation to be an example of what Schmidt (1990) refers to as the delayed phenomenon of language loss (above).

> Ya, but I mean I'd heard about it before, but in that study I heard that there were just three that had a possibility of surviving[4]. I never knew that languages were that endangered,...and that was just my ignorance about our Native people, thinking that you know that this was just going to last and that there were few people like me who didn't know how to speak Cree but there's a lot of people.

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[4] Only three of Canada's indigenous languages are considered to have excellent chances of survival (more than 5,000 speakers) in the foreseeable future: Cree, Inuktitut, Ojibwa (Foster, 1982).

I found that awareness of language loss had an impact on Kelly's students, as well. The language situation in Fabio's family, for example, depicts the language loss process rather aptly. In the interview Fabio told me that while his maternal grandmother is not fluent, she knows "quite a bit" of Cree. His grandmother had passed on "a little bit" of the language to his mother and Fabio knows "a tiny bit." When asked how he felt when Kelly talked in class about the number of Native languages that have been lost or are endangered, Fabio's response was: "Disappointed and kind of sad to see hundreds of years go down the drain." He saw that "our heritage" is what gets lost when a language becomes extinct. Fabio became concerned about language loss "when I first learned that some of the Native languages could go extinct." It was his impression that other people do not really care: "It seems that they're just careless about it." Fabio thought finding out about language loss would probably make a difference to other Native people. If he talked to people about it, Fabio would ask: "Did you know that in a couple years some languages could go extinct?"

Shelley told me that she did not know a lot about language loss before the class discussions, but she "knew it was happening." She had heard John Cardinal speaking about language loss on the news and her friends had been talking about it being on the news. Had learning more about it in class made a difference?

> well, ya, because before it didn't really matter, but now it does because I know that Native languages are dying out and pretty soon if you say a word in Cree nobody's going to know what you're talking about....since then now I'm more determined to learn that 'cause if they know it then they can pass it on to their kids, it can go from generation to generation.

With 55, 000 speakers, Cree is considered to have an excellent chance of survival (Foster, 1982). However, Fredeen (1991:194-5) notes that even for languages that are relatively healthy at present, it is important to take action to support retention. In order for a language to be maintained, there needs to be a critical mass of speakers. Once there develops a sizable number of young parents who do not use it as their home language, the battle to bring back the language becomes very difficult, time-consuming and expensive.

People may be apprised of the situation regarding indigenous language loss, yet awareness is only the initial step. Not everyone will want to take the next step, but the choices people make regarding language use should be informed ones. My stance is that if people fully understand the repercussion of language loss, its likelihood will be reduced.

Implications of Language Loss

There is considerable concern over the threat to the world's biological diversity; the extinction of a language is as much a loss as the extinction of a plant or animal species. Bernard (1992) suggests that the consequent reduction of the cultural diversity that language loss entails may threaten human survival. The loss of linguistic diversity diminishes our ability to adapt because it decreases the pool of knowledge from which to draw.

Linguistic diversity is important to human intellectual life, both in the context of scientific linguistic inquiry and in the cultural realm (Hale, 1992). A language is the collective unconscious creation of generations and with each language death is lost a distinctive system for encoding experience. The loss of languages and their associated cultural traditions has meant irretrievable loss of intellectual wealth. Kelly emphasises how culture and language are interconnected:

> Well, you sort of can't have one without the other, even non-traditional people say that, they hook in somehow, they're all tied in together, there's a missing piece without the language. When I say that our elders spoke in Cree, you lose half of it trying to understand without the language.

What about the student participants? What fuels their "desire to keep the language going?" The reasons for Native language preservation that surfaced in the fieldwork ranged from recognizing the need for language diversity, while valuing the uniqueness of Native languages to noting the role language plays in cultural transmission and communication.

> Language is part of our communication and losing languages is kind of like losing part of the world. We'd be missing a lot, because language is a part of culture. It's really important to learn about the past the right way. If you don't know the language, then we can't really talk about it....It may be painful for those cultures to lose their language because their language is important to them. Candy

To Shelley, what gets lost when a language dies is "heritage and like tradition, stuff like that, that would just change everything cause if you can't talk your own language then what's the point?" Her views on endangered Native languages:

> Well, that's not very fair because the Natives were the first ones, they were the first ones here, so like why should they (their languages) have to go first? I don't want the Native language to die out cause that's what they talk and that's like theirs and we don't got a lot cause the Natives were always getting things taken away from them but that's something we do got.

Related to this, for these students, none of whom speak the language, was a determination to preserve culture through being able to pass the language on. Johnny considered "mostly our culture and our background" to be what gets lost when a language dies. Fabio said he wanted to learn more Cree "because I want to pass on the language to my children 'cause it will be part of their culture." Santeca wanted to learn her traditional language "so when I have kids I can pass it on to them and keep the language going."

None of these Native students come from families where a language other than English is spoken as the first language at home. Still, several of them talked about wanting to learn their traditional language so that they would be better able to communicate with relatives. For example, if Johnny learned more Cree he would be able to talk to his grandmother more easily, because his grandmother "speaks English kind of, but she speaks Cree better."

Language Shift

Information about language loss has the potential to increase awareness, but it does not explain why languages are experiencing varying degrees of endangerment. For any given endangered language, examining attempts to halt or reverse the process requires careful consideration of the phenomenon of language shift. Although there are various factors which help to explain language shift, they have minimal predictive power. Attempts to find universal patterns of causality are being replaced by the realization that shift in language is caused, ultimately, by shifts in personal and group values and goals (Kulick, 1992:8-9). Viewed this way, the question that then must be answered is: why and how do people come to interpret their lives in such a way that they abandon one of their languages?

When answering this question for speakers of indigenous languages, it is essential to look to the past. Native peoples the world over have common stories of language suppression. Indigenous languages were prohibited in residential schools and children were beaten for speaking their Native tongue. By way of illustration, Kelly explains why she did not grow up learning Cree, even though her father had been a fluent speaker.

> Well, because of residential schooling, that's probably the main reason for all of us not speaking Cree because when my Dad went to residential school,... there were big signs all over the place that there was to be no Indian spoken and he said we always wondered what kind of language that was because we spoke Cree, we didn't know what Indian was. But, ya they were beaten for speaking their language and so **he couldn't see times changing** and he was about thirteen when he ran away from there. Just even as a really young man he vowed if he ever had kids that he'd never teach them how to speak Cree and you know back then **he couldn't see times changing.** That was bad for us because you know it would have been nice instead of having to learn Cree at an older age and then maybe could have taught it to our kids.

Haig-Brown (1988:110) suggests that perhaps the school's biggest effect on language use could be called secondary: although punishing children for speaking their language did not eradicate it, as adults, many consciously did not teach their children a Native language so that they might avoid the punishments incurred through its use at school. This aptly describes the choice made by Kelly's father and, in his case, an answer to Kulick's question becomes readily apparent. While it is necessary to recognize the tragic mistakes of the past, it is *now* crucial to focus on *recent* accounts of why and how a language lives and dies. And, contrary to Kelly's father's experience, for Native languages, the times have changed. Kelly has witnessed some of the changes:

> ...and it seems like so many of the old people speak Cree and the young people from different schools that are happening now are learning it. More and more people are teaching their children how to speak Cree.

Many people are actively working to preserve Native languages[5]. This is encouraging because "the linguistic assimilation of the future Native population will depend on the language use of the present generation" (Robinson, 1985:519). In other words, this generation marks the last chance. Johnny, one of the research participants, provides an example. I asked Johnny how much Cree his parents speak.

> Well, they speak lots to my grandpa and grandma, that's it, they don't speak it to me. My parents are kind of fluent and my grandparents are fluent. I know just a little that I learned mostly at my grandma's.

Similarly, one of the women who attended a Blackfoot methodology course I participated in, a teacher now committed to teaching Blackfoot at an elementary school, made this comment:

> I have an 11 year old daughter at home who doesn't speak the language, yet my husband and I are both fluent Blackfoot speakers. And I have to ask myself why I didn't pass the language on.

I am *not* presuming to know *why* the language was not passed on in these particular cases, nor to pass judgment. I realize that parental decisions are among the many factors influencing the language acquisition of children. Furthermore, parental decisions usually reflect complex circumstances. Still, if changes are not made now regarding language use and transmission, Native language maintenance will not be an option for future generations. It is time to put the historical context into perspective so that energy can be used in the present to cultivate a future for Native languages.

Transmission

The issue of "who to learn the language from" arose during the interviews. Fredeen (1991:194) notes that indigenous languages are retained in part due to the presence in the community of adults and elders who speak only or primarily the indigenous language. As time goes on, there will be fewer such individuals; consequently one more factor which has acted to reinforce indigenous language use will diminish in strength. For the students, there was a realization that, in many cases, the elders are needed for language transmission.

> We're going to have to be like the children, the students who are going to have to be taught our own language to keep it going. I think we should be able to learn our language because if we don't learn it and our elders die then they take the language with them and we don't know what it is and another language is lost after that.
>
> Johnny

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[5] A chapter of my thesis is devoted to indigenous language revival.

This places a burden on the relationship between elders and the younger generation, especially considering many youth have parents who do not speak the language themselves. Johnny identified his grandma as someone from whom he could learn Cree: "If I stay at my grandma's I'll learn more because she teaches me a lot." Shelley keyed elders as a source for people to learn the language. "Well, they could ask to learn, they could ask somebody to teach them. Probably the elders would be the people to ask, like if you have a Native grandma that could teach you." However, she also made the following comment:

> Nobody listens to the elders, they've lost their respect for them. It's the 90's. Everybody just stopped listening and nobody cares what they think... If they don't want to listen to them to pass the language on, pretty soon they're not gonna be around no more so like it's not gonna get nowhere if they don't learn it. Ya, if they just keep it to themselves they're gonna die with it, because it's the elders who know the language.

Is the language going to be passed on or are the elders going to die with it? As Shelley's comments show, there must be give and take on both sides. There are speakers who have made the conscious choice not to pass the language on; there are others who have not willingly listened. Nevertheless, this research demonstrates that there are people who can speak Native languages and there are others wanting to learn. I realize that expressing a desire to speak a language does not necessarily translate into committed action, but it can be considered a beginning.

Perhaps the research participants will realize their hopes of communicating with relatives in their ancestral tongue and someday passing that language on to their children. However, this will not happen without concerted effort. If there is to be a modicum of success, support will be needed from many directions: youth and elders, parents and children, students and teachers, Native and non-Native. In Shelley's words:

> **It's kind of like everybody's problem that the Native languages are dying out, it's just not certain people's problem.**

I agree with Shelley, but whether others will choose to take ownership remains to be seen.

References available on request.

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Communicative Language Teaching in China: An Analysis from A Cultural Perspective

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In late 1970's, when China first opened its door to the Western world after its quarter-of-a-century isolation, communicative language teaching (CLT), as one of novelties, was introduced into China. Grounded by the new ideas of linguistics, psychology, and pedagogy, the CLT emphasizes that language is nothing but an instrument of communication and that language learning should be focused on the communicative competence rather than grammatical rules and linguistic structures (Canale and Swain, 1980). This new paradigm sounded so convincing and so appealing that many Chinese educators, scholars, and teachers of English welcomed it with great enthusiasm. They appraised it as most effective and efficient approach, a short cut, to English as a foreign language (EFL) learning (Li, 1984; Liao, 1996). A fundamental change in teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) in China seemed inevitable, and a revolution in EFL classrooms was expected to occur.

In the past decade, a great effort has been made by the State Education Commission (SEC), various research institutions and individual professionals to promote the CLT approach. Numerous EFL teacher training projects have been launched. A rapidly-increasing number of CLT experts from English-speaking countries have been invited acting as curriculum consultants and developers, researchers, English teachers, and teacher trainers at both secondary and tertiary levels. Research conferences on TESOL are held frequently nationwide. The national English teaching syllabuses for both colleges and high schools have been revised and promulgated with respect to the CLT approach. The old literature- and linguistic-based text books have given way to the newly imported or developed CLT-based textbooks. New teaching methods based on the CLT framework have been tried and explored on a small scale (Liu, 1988; Anderson, 1993; Liao, 1996). In spite of all these endeavours, however, the progress in implementing the CLT approach at all levels of education has been incredibly slow if not halted. The expected revolution in the EFL classrooms has never occurred. Many teachers attempted CLT approach but quickly got frustrated, lost their initial enthusiasm, and acquiesced to tradition (Campbell & Zhao, 1993; Dzau, 1990). To date, Chinese traditional approach is still predominant in English classes. According to an official survey conducted by SEC, 87% high school teachers in China employ the traditional methods in 1980s (Zuo, 1990). In short, the CLT approach has encountered a passive but enormous resistance from the majority of the EFL teachers and students.

Why did this happen? Why has the CLT implementation failed to progress in China as fast as it is expected to? Where did the resistance against the CLT come from? With an attempt to answer these questions, the two pedagogical paradigms will be contrasted and analysed from the cultural perspectives.

School is an inseparable part of society and classroom instruction largely reflects the culture it is embedded in. Accordingly, as elaborated below, many problems relevant to implementing the CLT approach into a traditional Chinese language classroom can be attributed to the following cultural clashes between the two paradigms, namely, between the CLT framework and Chinese traditional approach which is heavily influenced by Confucian educational philosophy.

Sharp Differences in the Beliefs of Language Learning

Student's choice of learning approach is much influenced by their beliefs about how language is learned. In light of the CLT paradigm, language learning is viewed as a skill development rather than a knowledge receiving process. Language is learned through constant use in meaning exchange for communicative purposes in social interactions. Errors are tolerable and regarded as indicators of development. Linguistic form is not focused upon. The structure of the target language is not taught explicitly. Structural exercises, drills, etc. are maximally avoided. Instead, role-plays and simulations are judged to be especially useful.

In contrast, to many Chinese people, ever since the time of Confucius (551-479 B.C.) language has been conceived of as a knowledge, an academic subject, rather than a set of practical skills for communication (Yen, 1987). Every academic subject, such as mathematics or physics, is governed by certain objective laws. So is a foreign language. The focus of learning is on the knowledge of grammatical rules and syntactic and lexical structures, because it is believed that, once these so-called "objective laws" are mastered, the key to correct and creative application of the target language would be found.

Furthermore, this belief is reinforced by their previous experience from acquisition of their mother tongue. Chinese differs from English in terms of language system and word formation. The former is ideographic whereas the latter is alphabetic. Every Chinese character incorporates semantically-based symbols called radicals, each of which represents a fixed meaning. Hence, almost all the Chinese words can be analysed semantically. For instance, a word "family" in Chinese is composed of the radical " 宀 ", meaning "house", and " 豕 ", "pig". Thus the combination of the two radicals "家 ", literarily means a house with domestic animals, a traditional petty farmer's concept of an ideal family. Another example is the word "rich" which is made up of four radicals, i.e., "house" "宀 ", "one" "一 ", "mouth" " 口 ", and "land" "田 ". The composition of these radicals, " 富" literarily means that one is rich when he/she has got a house and land but only one mouth to feed. When Chinese children start to learn Chinese vocabulary, they are encouraged to memorize each radical's lexical meaning as well as groups of characters semantically associated with this radical. For example, when they learn the dog radical, they may at the same time memorize a set of characters containing that radical related to animals or animal behaviours, such as "wolf", "cat", "hunting", "mad", and "violent". Therefore, the internal organization of the Chinese children's memory for reading may be formed semantically, rather than alphabetically or phonologically (Biederman & Tsao, 1979).

Edward Sapir (1949) pointed out, "[The forms of each language] established a definite relational feeling or attitude towards all possible contents of expression and, through them, towards all possible contents of experience, in so far, as experience is capable of expression in linguistic terms" (p. 153). And, further, "Once our minds have been trained in taking particular points of view for the purpose of speaking, it is exceptionally difficult to be retrained" (Slobin, 1986, p. 249). Chinese learners are no exceptions. When they begin to learn English, usually at age of 12 or over, the Chinese language and its rules have already taken a firm hold in their mind. As a result, the meaning-based nature of the Chinese writing system would lead them to habitual concentration upon the semantic structures and syntactic rules. Along with their growing up, they tend to be analytical about what is being learned, relying upon their logical ability to analyse, synthesize, and summarize their knowledge of English and its "governing rules" (if there is any). They prefer a step-by-step learning approach to a holistic approach where vague generalizations or lack of overt explanations on linguistic structures often bother them and directly conflict with their previous language learning habits (Harvey, 1985; Liao, 1996). They believe that through grammatical analysis, structured practice, written practice, and memorization of the exact meaning of vocabulary or phrases, they can obtain a systematic control over comprehending messages and expressing themselves by testing hypotheses, and learn from the source of comprehensible output in terms of structures, vocabulary and phrases. To them, a text is not just read for meaning but deciphered for extending the vocabulary list and refining the mastery of grammar, supposedly the law of the target language (Scovel, 1983). A great satisfaction is felt when they can explain and justify sentences with their knowledge of linguistic structures and grammar rules. Otherwise, they would feel learning nothing at all. It is noteworthy, however, that most of the Chinese students are interested in analysing the grammatical structures and lexical formations, especially those problematic and confusing ones, not just for the sake of grammatical analysis as some people criticized. Instead, their interest appear to be constructive in language learning process. This can be exemplified by a Chinese student's comment, "We would like to know what happens, because if we understand system we can use English more efficiently" (Harvey, 1985, p.185).

Since language is viewed as a knowledge (an end), language learning is taken seriously and academically. More prestige and perquisites are accorded to people who teach literature and cultural aspects of a language than to those who teach language skills. On the other hand, communicative classroom activities such as sharing hobbies, describing favourite foods, playing games and singing folk songs are associated with entertainment exclusively and often criticized for their lack of content (Anderson, 1993; Yen, 1987). The CLT principle of "do-as-if" or "willing suspension of disbeliefs" in role plays is denounced. As one of the students complained, "I don't feel I am learning anything. We don't want to be treated like ignorant children" (Yen, 1987, p. 59). His complaints are not uncommon among students in China, forming a big cultural obstacle for the CLT implementation.

In sum, language learning, in the CLT framework, is the acquisition of knowledge how to, i.e., the skills, proficiency, and functions, whereas, in Chinese traditional approach, it is acquisition of knowledge of "objective laws", that is, the grammatical and lexical rules that govern the language phenomena. Thus when the CLT approach is implemented in a traditionally predominant classroom, the two fundamentally different concepts conflict with each other. A major conceptual shift or reconciliation as to what language means and how to learn it has to be made by the Chinese learners before any affirmative action can be taken.

Sharp Contradiction in Pedagogical Framework

The Role of the Teachers and Students

One of the major characteristics in Chinese traditional language teaching is teacher-centeredness. It can be traced back to Confucian doctrine, "the supreme order". According to this doctrine, everyone has a certain status in the society; everyone should know his/her place, should perform the social role assigned to him/her but should never exceed it. A teacher at school in the old days could enjoy the same social prestige as a father in a family. The word "teacher" in Chinese literarily means "leading master" or "role model". Naturally, if the teacher is leading master, the students must be apprentices who are supposed to obey their master's order and follow their master's instructions faithfully. This tradition has been deeply rooted onto Chinese culture and Chinese mind even today.

In many cases, language teachers in China enjoy the sole authority in the classroom and, therefore, should not be questioned, interrupted, or challenged. Raising too many questions in class would mean disturbing the teacher's plan and sowing the disrespect for the teacher. The student's job is to listen passively, take notes and memorize them after class (Yen, 1987).

Contrary to this traditional pedagogy is the CLT approach, which tends to shift the classroom centre away from the teacher to the students in order to maximize students' classroom interactions and evolvement in the process of communicative activities. Teachers' primary role is no longer to impart their content knowledge to students but to facilitate the students to develop their own communicative competence through various kinds of informal but realistic group work (Li, 1984; Penner, 1995).

Apparently, this fundamental shift means tremendous challenges for teachers on their beliefs and values about themselves as well as on their accustomed teaching methods. The most obvious challenge, for instance, is to change their deeply-rooted notion that teachers should be all-knowing and ever-correct. Although the majority of teachers lack the basic linguistic and communicative competence (Burnaby & Sun, 1989; Anderson, 1993; Liao, 1996), with the traditional approach, they still manage to maximally avoid erring and, thus, maintain their traditional image of "knowers" in front of their students. This is achieved by focusing only on the prescribed textbooks with detailed explanations and answers to the exercises provided either from the teacher's manual or from collective preparation among their colleagues. Nevertheless, it would be extremely difficult, or impossible, for them to keep the image of "knowers" while working with authentic English language materials (radio broadcast, newspaper and magazine articles, real-life dialogues, etc.) and confronting unpredicted student's questions popped out of the interaction in the CLT classroom. As one teacher confessed, "I can only teach English to some extent. If I am asked to give more explanations on the language and cultural differences, it is impossible for me" (Burnaby & Sun, 1989, p. 228). How to solve this pedagogical and psychological problem is a first challenge that teachers have to confront with before they can fully adopt the CLT methods.

The shift of the role is a challenge for the students as well. With the CLT approach, students are no longer passive recipient but active participants in class who take more responsibilities for their own learning. This has turned out to be problematic, too. Nurtured by the Chinese educational system, and accustomed to the spoon-fed methodology, Chinese students tend to be even more conservative than the faculty (Barlow & Lowe, 1985). A fear of losing face and making mistakes, a desire to avoid confrontation, a reluctance to be singled out, and a hesitancy about answering questions, make students reluctant to actively participate in class activities (Hou, 1987). In fact, some of them became frustrated and upset when asked to participate in various communicative games rather than to learn any knowledge of grammar and usage of vocabulary in class. They felt that the teachers were not making any effort to teach (Yen, 1987).

To make things worse, some unqualified foreign teachers superficialized the concept of the CLT and turned the English class into a party, an open house, or simply a self-taught class without providing any necessary guidance or help to students. Their misleading aggravated some students' repugnance against the CLT approach. It seems that there is still a long way to go before both teachers and students can fully understand their own new roles and adjust themselves in the CLT classroom.

The Test Orientation and Students' Needs

As many researchers and scholars pointed out, the most decisive factor that hinders the CLT implementation is the current English testing orientation in Chinese educational system (Scovel, 1983; Burnaby & Sun, 1989; Campbell & Zhao, 1993; Liu, 1988; Anderson, 1993). Due to the strong influence of the longstanding traditional values placed on the tests stemming from the imperial civil examinations, the Chinese educational system can be characterized as test-oriented. It is said that a student has to pass at least a hundred formal examinations from the day he/she enters the primary school to the day he/she completes the graduate school (Liu, 1988). As the saying goes, these examinations are the piper that calls the tune in education at all levels on all aspects.

English is one of the major disciplines that have to be tested in the following national examinations: the National College Entrance Examinations for high school seniors, the National Graded English Tests for college undergraduates, the National Graduate School Entrance Examinations for applicants of graduate programs, and the English Proficiency Test for screening candidates studying abroad on the government funding.

Although those decisive examinations vary in names, they share something in common. First, they are all modelled after the TOEFL, consisting mostly of multiple-choice items focused on measuring students' receptive, discrete linguistic skills, especially the ability to memorize and recognize grammatical structure and vocabulary devoid of meaningful context. Second, in spite of the fact that there is a writing subtest in these examinations supposed to measure communicative competence, it is often scored for grammatical correctness rather than organization and appropriateness of the content. "Hence, a good English learner in this system is one who can do grammatical analysis well, not one who an communicate well" (Campbell & Zhao, 1993, p. 3).

Since a successful academic career and professional future is heavily dependent upon the performance on those tests, students, parents, and educational administrations at all levels put a great pressure on teachers to tailor their curricula and teaching methods at the orientation of those tests. What students really expect to learn from English classes is not communicative competence but a solid grasp of grammar, usage of vocabulary, and some test-taking skills. The communicative approach, as Chinese teachers and students believe, is only effective to brush up people's oral English and, therefore, mainly "applicable in China for those who were about to go to an English-speaking country" (Burnaby & Sun, 1989, p. 231).

Learning Environments: Resources, Space, and Time

The CLT advocates prefer the natural approach (Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982), emphasizing that classroom should be created into such a learning environment that it can provide students with ample opportunities to "respond to genuine communicative needs in realistic second language situations" (Canale & Swain, 1980, p. 27). Accordingly, most North American second/foreign language classes have a maximum of 20 students so that each of them can be given a plenty of space and time to participate meaningful negotiation and interaction with speakers of the target language in class. In contrast, however, such a learning environment is usually not available in China. China is a culturally integrated and homogeneous country. Chinese is the only official language used in daily life. English resources and public media, such as television and radio programs, newspapers, books, etc., are limited in terms of both quality and quantity. English movies and video tapes and other audio-visual equipments are not easily accessible. As a result, Chinese students can hardly expose themselves to English in daily life. The only opportunity for them to contact English is English classes, which are only 4 to 5 hours per week, and, in most cases, in a large classroom setting with 50 to 70 students at different levels (Burnaby & Sun, 1989). A large class like that often forbids the reformed-minded teachers to craft any natural interaction and communication among students. In addition, when students occasionally are exposed to English either in or out of class, what they often hear is not authentic English but "Chinglish", a combination of English words with Chinese grammar and various local accents, for there are not a sufficient number of people with English native-speaker or near native-speaker proficiency around. Communicative practice is, therefore, severely handicapped in Chinese context.

Limitations and Weaknesses of the CLT In Chinese Context

Everything has its own advantages and drawbacks. The CLT approach is no exceptions. In effect, apart from the cultural confrontations between the two paradigm, the limitations and deficiencies inherent within the CLT have contributed another factor to the slow progress in the CLT implementation in China.

Firstly, it is argued that natural environment for language learning as suggested and described by the CLT advocates is usually an inefficient environment insomuch as it does not maximize the possibilities for learning to take place (Sampson, 1984). Some empirical studies seemed also to support this argument (Pica, 1988). They showed that even in some bilingual countries and regions, such as Hong Kong and Canada, there is little negotiation and interaction going on during the class activities in the communicative classroom and that functional practice in class is far from sufficient in terms of availability of opportunity and use of what has been learned previously (Pica, 1988). Furthermore, contrary to the CLT hypotheses that students learn most from their pees (Dulay, Burt & Krashen, 1982), empirical research has evidenced that, students do not benefit most from their peers, but rather from low teacher-student ratios, with which attention to individual students and one-on-one communication are more manageable (Sampson, 1984; Wolf, 1994). If this is the case, then the feasibility of the CLT implementation would be questioned in a Third-World country like China where class size is large, teaching hours are limited, and the native speakers of the target language are not always available.

Secondly, in the CLT approach, teachers tend to concentrate on getting the message across while neglecting necessary attention to the correction of the learner's errors in using the target language with respect to linguistic structures and pronunciation. They believe that the learners will eventually generalize the rules of the target language and correct errors by themselves. This, however, has seldom happened. Even if it does happen, it usually takes a long time and much frustration on the learner's part.

Current research shows that instructions on structure and grammar rules are necessary for many learners to achieve accuracy as well as fluency in their acquisition of a foreign language (Long, 1983; Rutherford & Smith, 1988). As Richards (1985) pointed out, there is no actual empirical evidence demonstrates that the CLT with grammarless approach can yield better language learners than traditional grammatical-structured methods could. Instead, some evidence indicates that the grammarless approach can lead to the development of broken, ungrammatical, pidginized form of the target language beyond which learners can hardly progress (Higgs & Clifford, 1982).

Moreover, noticing and correcting errors (both linguistic and communicative) are important meta-cognitive strategies, called "monitoring" (Rubin, 1987). Monitoring is critical mental device for language learners, especially for beginners, to push for utterances which are grammatically correct and socially appropriate. But when and how often a teacher should help students to utilize these strategies is always a problem. Too much or too immediate correction, as the CLT teachers fear, would interrupt and intimidate students' communicative practice. Yet too little correction, as many CLT teachers tend to do in class, can be equally harmful to the acquisition of the target language. In light of Katsue Reeve's (1992) survey, the students felt that one of main weaknesses in the communicative classroom is teacher's inadequate correction of pronunciation and use of new vocabulary. Clearly, more empirical studies need to be done in this aspect before the CLT can be effectively and efficiently applied in language learning.

Thirdly, the CLT approach requires holistic assessment by native speakers or by people with near native-speaker competence (Burnaby & Sun, 1989). Objective large-scale testing based on the CLT framework has not yet been satisfactorily developed. Even in the North American context, "many a curricular innovation have been undone by failure to make corresponding changes in evaluation" (Savigon, 1991, p. 266). Given the fact that the majority of Chinese teachers of English possess very limited linguistic competence and knowledge of English culture, it may not be feasible to ask them to properly evaluate students' communicative competence rather than grammatical competence alone.

Conclusion

Unlike natural science and technology which is value-free, educational theories and methodology are heavily laden with cultural and political values and, consequently, not applicable to all teaching situations (Sampson, 1984). This has been exemplified in the CLT implementation in Chinese EFL classrooms over last 15 years. While the CLT principle that language learning is language use has been widely accepted, its specific approach has been constantly challenged, resisted, and even rejected. The cultural resistance and incompatibility can never be underestimated. On the other hand, changes and innovations do occur but at a slow pace and towards an eclectic adaption, a Chinese way to integrate various advanced communicative approaches (not the CLT alone) with Chinese grammatical-audiolingual methods (Liu, 1988; Dzao, 1990; Liao; 1996). This main trend in current reform on TESOL in China is nothing but a model after Mao Zedong's historical slogans that "Let the past serve the present; make foreign things serve China". As it happened many times before historically, the new eclectic TESOL methods in the Chinese context will turn out to be quite different than what is intended by the donor countries.

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Economic, Cultural, Political Significance Of Market Women In Nigeria

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Market Operations : Nigerian market places like in the majority of African states have always been important transactional centers, places dominated by flurry of activities,the vital meeting places of the buyers and the sellers, where naturally women outnumber the men, and are therefore firmly under the control of women. Nigerian markets are at times located at crossroads, lorry parks, railway stations and centers of labor activities. Of the market women, Cutrufelli (1983) observes "their stalls spread out for hundreds and hundreds of yards." They operate extensively both in the rural and urban areas They sell all sorts of things, ranging from farm produce to manufactured items both local and imported, handicraft items, cloth, and just anything ranging from bulky items to iced water in small plastic containers for the large patrons of these markets. Nigerian market women are economically active. They play a critical role in the lives of a large segment of the country's population by providing goods at low cost in convenient locations.

Historical Profile and Power of the market women : The African woman as entrepreneur is not a twentieth century phenomenon.In West Africa, in particular, women as merchants and traders have become legendary. Trade has always been important in the historical development of Nigeria and it has a long history among the women. Women were very active in the barter economy which lingered on for years and is usually associated with the early stage of African history. In the early sixteenth century, when the Portuguese brought in the cowry shells from the Indies to Nigeria, women continued to be at the core of the trading business and in fact found it easier to operate with the cowries, which were more handy (Njoku 1980). In the 1940's when cowries were replaced by British coins it was expected that the women would be discouraged from trading because of the difficulty of handling foreign money. On the other hand, the women faced up to the challenge and they continued to rise in profile until they became the phenomenon that they are today.

Trading is a very important and major occupation for Nigerian women. It is valued as a full time viable career, that before marriage in some traditions, young girls are expected to acquire marketing techniques in apprenticeship system which serves to transmit business acumen to younger generations of female traders (House-Midamba 1991). Polygamy is rampant in Nigeria, women therefore see the need to utilize their ability to derive additional earnings from participation in independent economic activities, in view of unstable marital relationships. Men are often not supportive of women's entrepreneurial activities arguing that the women's most important economic activities should be enlisted in the services of children and the home. Women's market activities could therefore be performed with or without the husband's permission. (Lesthaege 1989)

Colonialism brought with it class division. Pre colonial African women occupied a position complementary rather than subordinate to the men. Mullings (1976) quoting Van Allen (1976) reiterates that the British colonialists as a result of their "Victorian view of women" imposed a social structure based on stratification by class and sex. At this point, the position of women was both diminished and enhanced. They were excluded in government and administration. In the economic realm, as a result of sex-role differentiation to trading opportunities, many market women gained in wealth and influence. The great majority are petty traders. Their active participation in the commodity market however, conferred on them some powers, which emboldened them to challenge colonial rule at various times. (Mullings 1976).

Traditionally since the inception of time, women in Africa had formed themselves into formal or informal organizations. These organizations have been based on various concepts, ranging from kinship ties, to neighborliness, residence, community alliance, information circuits, religious groupings, cultural, rituals, work, marriage, economic pursuits, class commitment to each other from the notion that "we must help each other", and even gossip circles (March and Taqqu 1989). It was therefore not surprising that *women* in the market would organize as *market women,* as an oppressed class, a bond which gave them a focus, to protect their interests and curtail the erosion of their economic and political power, which was induced by colonialism (Johnson 1986).

Economic significance of the market women : Women education was not considered to be a priority in the traditional society, one of the reasons why many women are full time traders. Market women in Nigeria,because of the incidence of high illiteracy level among them, generally have low social status, yet there is an acknowledged respect for them because of their more than modest achievements and activities which is contributory to the economy, succinctly put by Ohieku (1980). *"Not only did they perform all domestic chores often they relieved their husbands entirely of economic responsibilities,"* "The Nigerian market women's economic power is vested in their participation in domestic, cross-border and international trade. Banks had policies that favor men more than women and are usually indisposed to small lending. However recently banks have altered their policies to patronize and accommodate the market women, conscious of the economic power they wield and the level of cash flow among them. Banks now not only operate mobile banks in and around the market places. They are engaged in severe competition to establish branches in the markets sites, where the bulk of community wealth circulates.

Alhaja Mogaji, current President of the General Association of Nigeria Market Women (1994) at a conference organized by UNIFEM on Women in Trade and Industry, observed : *"Nearly every Nigerian woman is a market woman at a point in her life, She must have been involved as a child with her mother or take to buying and selling aside her professional work or after retirement decides to engage in trading activities."* The driving motivation for the Nigerian women is the need for money and so they do not underestimate its importance,for the upkeep and day to day feeding of their family, who they consider their primary responsibility. Therefore all women find things to do, to bring in that extra income.

The economic independence of the Nigerian market women has been frequently quoted and with good reason. They are tough entrepreneurs as they usually surpass the male in the business. As active participants in this volatile and very competitive sector, they strive to protect their economic interests and better their economic status (Lewis 1976).

Alhaja Abiba Mogaji (1994) the president of the General Association of Market Women defines the role of the market women which she claims makes them the backbone of the economy. She says : *"As mothers, market women ensure the availability of staple food in the market to all citizens. They sell their goods to the citizens with minimum gain in mind.* " This portrays the sensitivity with which the market women operate. In spite of the need to make money, the market women are not Shylocks. However whatever threatens the women's sources of income are naturally viewed with serious concern and doggedness and this gives them the impetus to resist any forces of opposition vehemently.

Market Women Organizations: Individualism prevails as a function of marketing. Most women acquire their goods through individual ties from regular suppliers. However there is inter trading, where goods are resold to fellow traders at much cheaper prices than to the external buyers to give room for profit. Also in some cases, there are collective wholesale buying which are internally shared before resale. Most of the political powers of the Nigerian market woman are derived from their market organizations which (i) determine the prices of goods (ii) control and monitor the prices (iii) control the movement of goods between market (iv) organize against operators of black market which tend to destroy the stabilization of prices and encourage profiteering and exploitation.

The Market Women Association's Leadership Structure : Each market has its own organization, with a leader who is selected on the basis of leadership qualities and personality through an informal election.She is the link between the market, the market women and the political authorities, both formally and informally. She implements the wish of the association with regard to stall allocation and the admission of members. She knows all the traders with the stalls and keeps an eye on a floating population of street traders and hawkers, who usually are not bonafide members of the association. Membership is confirmed by payment of dues which is usually a token. She also interacts with external suppliers to ensure fairness.

Each market is divided into sections of related products (foodstuffs, textile, hardware), with a head, who is responsible for the supply, sale, preparation and processing of the merchandise in her section. The sections are further divided into commodity associations, for more grassroots management. Each commodity has its own leader who is responsible for fixing prices, settling disputes and other matters pertaining to the sale and supply of the commodity.

The 1930s saw the emergence of Market Unions, an amalgamation of all market associations in a zone, under one umbrella. There is usually one overall leader for each Union. They meet regularly with the Association leaders, and also hold regular meetings with the Commodity leaders. It is an effective network. Internal disputes are often settled. Decisions taken at meetings are binding on all members. There are seldom leadership crises, and the orders of the leaders are almost always obeyed.

Cultural significance of the market women : The market place is part of the religious environment that is integrated into the religious movement. Since women control the market space, they also control the market rituals. Cases have been reported of powerful leaders of market who double as priestesses. Market place rituals cannot be ignored. Productivity, fertility, wealth and prosperity are the key elements associated with female power and its goddesses are many. Women dominate in the worship of these goddesses. Several goddesses are also associated with market protection (Falola 1995).

The female leadership of the markets have ways of manipulating prominent men in the society and incorporating them into market organizations.This is to establish crucial linkages with power, authority, resources and groups external to the market. Some very powerful market women have been very independent have rejected the stifling conditionalities of marriage, and some have managed to overcome the barriers that marriage and child bearing posed. Ogundipe -Leslie (1985) while portraying the assertiveness and the independence of the market women stated that the women in a symposium,while declaring their views on polygamy, stated categorically that men cannot be expected to be faithful to one woman. In fact some of the women said they would welcome co-wives and younger wives who would be helpmates, and in fact share or preferably take over the chores of the kitchen and the bed so that they as older wives could be free to concentrate on travel and the business of trading. The market women seem to have freed themselves of all emotional entanglements of marriage.

Many of them are astute and wise enough to seek political power adding it to the already acquired economic power. However it should be noted that not every woman grew wealthy or powerful from trade. In fact for the majority, trade did not bring wealth, and power. Some have experienced constraints such as domestic responsibility,and marital opposition. In some cases, it brought comfort not luxury. For some it brought losses, like in all human endeavor - win some, lose some.

Political significance of the market women Deprived of their pre-colonial authority and status, in the traditional dual-sex system,women resorted to their market associations, which became pressure groups, mass protest movements, acted as watchdog, mobilized around economic, ideological and community concerns and so were able to protect their own interests. Market women associations grew in profile. Thus in the period of the emergence of political parties market women became brides to be courted by political parties. They constituted very strong influence and would only back parties that supported their interests. Market associations provided the primary base for mobilizing women for political action.

The market place is a political domain for the market women. Politics for the market women is having their interests served. It is also resisting and disregarding government's laws which they consider injurious to their interests. Market women in Nigeria rather than succumb to undue pressure from government are known to have closed their shops, thus bringing economic activities to a halt. When market women support political parties, they in turn receive support for their economic interests. Leaders of the market women are always able to sway the women to support a particular party. It is almost a tradition that the parties the women support always win election. This is because of their number that is largely thrown behind the party. They usually turn out massively to vote. Local partisan politics is never complete without the active participation of the market women. They demonstrate support with rallies, chanting slogans and wearing cloth which may have the picture of the politician of their choice. The market is an active political terrain.

Market women understand solidarity with women. Traditionally, they support female candidates as against the male candidates with the slogan "she is our own, let her do it ". When market women support a scheme, they are always ready to stamp their thumb print as a mark of solidarity. Market women hardly sit on the fence concerning national issues. They take a stand and voice their opinion, usually to the government of the day. As a pressure group they rank next to the University Students Union.

Market women are usually genuinely politically motivated. They have been known to engage in" politics of survival" rather than "politics of profit" (Mba 1982). In 1990 the market women mobilized and organized activities including media appearances to protest against government's desire to take the World Bank /IMF loan. They displayed a lot of folk wisdom and expressly warned government against taking the loan, and the impending doom if they did. Government did not heed the protest,although it was loud and vehement enough. Government went ahead and took the loan. Today the women who are the greatest victims of the economic reforms that accompanied the loan package, are in a position to remind the government of its mistake.

Market women have continued to be the heart and voice of millions of marginalized women. They do not always win with the military governments in Nigeria, against whom they have had several running battles. Yet they had not given up what they consider to be their role in the cultural and political terrain of the country. In 1993 the military government canceled an election which has plunged Nigeria into its present imbroglio. The market women did not lose the opportunity to demonstrate against government's decision to cancel the election. The candidate that won was the market women's favorite. During the demonstration the military government deployed the police and the army to quell the protest. Women with babies strapped on their backs were shot at. Many market women were killed in the encounter with the government. (US Human Rights Report on Nigeria 1995).

The market women are susceptible to various types of dangers. Nonetheless the fighting spirit in the market woman has not been quenched. The Nigerian market women are not easily intimidated. They are indomitable. The military rulership in Nigeria has rendered most organizations impotent with ban on protest, procession and political activities, yet the market women have not given up their role as watch dog. They have threatened to boycott the next election unless their candidate is restored and reinstated. Market women have come openly against the military government repressive policies unlike some other women organizations, that have been silenced or co-opted. These market women have shed their blood for the liberation of women from oppression.

The New-breed Market Women

Of recent, the markets, the trading enterprises have been invaded by highly educated women who had resorted to trading in the face of high unemployment and increasing educated unemployed. As Alhaja Mogaji (1994) describes them " The market women of today are exposed, enlightened and well informed". These new crop of market women have money, education, class, status, but not the power,nor the influence of the traditional market women. It is yet to be seen whether their presence would influence the character of the traditional market women. This new breed market women are causing ripples. With marketing strategies and knowledge and involvement in modern trade, at their fingertips, these women are making quick money. But observers say they are less influential in their social role. They are economically visible. They are successful. These ones love life and are not ready to make the sacrifices the traditional market women have made. Their effect in the market community is yet to the determined through research. However some problems that have emerged in the markets have been associated with them.

Problems in the market - recent trends: Alhaja Mogaji (1994) in an address identified and analyzed the problems:

(i) Trading in the market is plagued by the emergence of the "middle-men /and women ", who have been identified as the "new-breed traders." They may or may not have stalls in the market. But they know the system so well that they are able to intercept the traditional business chain.
(ii) Secondly, the same situation is identified with the manufacturers,the big corporations, who now hardly sell directly to the market women,but have created distributors, usually members of their families, who have come into marketing as a result of unemployment. Manufacturers sell wholesale to these "emergency distributors " as they are called, who resell to the market women at increased rate cutting drastically the profit that would accrue to the market women, and causing inflation.
(iii) Transporters have become shylocks who believe that market women make lots of profit and so have drastically increased the cost of hauling goods and products to the markets which have resulted in increased pricing.
(iv) Illegal export of foodstuffs has become a great concern to the market women. This depletes the needed quantity for home consumption. Government insists that cross border traders obtain export licenses. This is to monitor the flow of goods and produce. But the borders are quite porous, and there is general laxity. So goods are smuggled to neighboring countries where they can sell at higher prices, than in Nigeria a situation that has been precipitated by the depreciation of the Nigeria's currency - one of the demands of the Structural Adjustment Program.
(v) To the present day ruling class, the market has become a place to collect illegal revenues, such as taxes, tolls, fees, dues, levies, gifts. The market women sounded an alarm and called for the intervention of a government that is not cooperative nor interested in their lot. However Alhaja Mogaji (1994) gave a ray of hope when she said " Our salvation is in our hands ". Many have asked the questions " Are the market women becoming oratorial with less action ? Are the market women becoming tired of fighting for their rights ?" Discretion at this stage is power, it is the better part of valor, as the market women leader (1994) observed.

Conclusion :

For my part, having operated among them, with shops of my own, in the largest, most active and most viable market in Nigeria, Oke Arin, I believe the market women movement is still very strong. It has a lot of potential. Former President of Nigeria, Ibrahim Babangida says of them "They are industrious... They are good managers... They are enterprising, shrewd and calculating." The market women contributions economically, politically and culturaliy are too significant to be ignored. I believe they will continue to play these roles. I envisage that the new-breed market women would become more integrated for good, spreading some influence, in ways of skills acquired. The documented success of the women in the market based economy has debunked the formerly European held notion that "Africans could not count beyond ten." (House-Midamba 1991). The Nigerian market women have proved that they can count up to a million when it comes to money to the astonishment of all onlookers.

A Note on the Northern Women and Hidden Trade: It is imperative to focus on the dichotomy that prevails in Nigeria. Most of what has been said about market women refers to the women of Southern Nigeria. The northern Muslim women, differ greatly from their southern counterparts. For social and religious reasons most of the women are in seclusion (purdah). However these women have always engaged in what has become known as the "hidden trade" (VerEecke 1995). Northern Nigeria is numerically dominated by Muslims, as a result of the Usman Dan Fodio Jihad that over-ran the area that was designated Northern Nigeria by the colonials. The Jihad like colonialism in the south marked a turning point in the roles of women. The social, and economic contributions of Muslim women began to change. The situation was encouraged by the widespread ideology in Islam which associates women's seclusion with modesty. Muslim men, started keeping their wives in seclusion (purdah) until it became the pervasive practice that it is today. This is to enable Muslim women have more time to devote to their religious obligations - praying and reading the Quoran and more time to their matrimonial duties as ordained in the Quoran.

Seclusion follows a general Islamic pattern. Men have strict legitimate control over their wives behavior and movement. She can leave the house only with due cause, such as to receive medical treatment, to attend marriages or funerals, or to visit nearby relations and nowadays to go to their places of work. In most cases women must seek their husbands permission to leave the house. Violation of this regulations may result in accusation of promiscuity and divorce. A few husbands may allow their wives to continue their education, at times to the university level. But they usually limit their wives choices of work, and school to those with minimal direct male-female interaction. (Callaway1987).

The women in "household trade" while in seclusion sell repackaged manufactured items, prepared food, to bachelors, to other households and to strangers streaming into town daily. They sell luxury items like cloth, perfume, cosmetics and jewelry, or provide services such as weaving, sewing and hairplaiting. They sell to their women friends and relatives who visit them. Above all they employ their children or other people's children to hawk the goods, to purchase the goods to be resold, and to advertise by word of mouth to potential buyers.

In the "hidden trade" it is the numerous young girls, selling for their mothers or relatives who are visible. Children essentially link the women's private domain to economic activity in the public domain. Women living in seclusion conduct their business as single-person enterprise; they do not form co-operatives nor buy collectively. In terms of economic contribution, it is not all men who can support their wives. Poor farmers who do not earn enough to support their families survive because their wives, from within seclusion are engaged in income-producing activity. Many poor families are sustained by the economic activities of wives in seclusion. The men do not prohibit their wives trading activities as long as they do not leave the house and food is available at the prescribed times. The proceeds from such trade is solely left with the women,without the husbands interference. The women have reported that the trading enhances their income (Callaway, 1987) which gives a sense of security especially in an uncertain marital future. However some of the women who trade do not see it in terms of economic freedom. They primarily see it as saving towards marriage expenses and contribution to the dowry of their daughters. Women try to improve their daughters status by creating enough wealth for them to attract men of higher status.

However when a man dies, or when a woman has been divorced she can sit outside her house and openly sell her goods until she remarries. This is not expected to be for too long unless she has grown old. She is expected to remarry and continue to bear children. If she is having a successful economic activity and she is resisting marriage or remarriage she will be labeled a prostitute (Callaway, 1987).

The northern Muslim women have been making significant economic contributions at family level. They cannot and do not have market associations, nor any of the prevailing structures that are apparent in the south. The economic contribution of these women deserves mention, even though they give their activities different interpretation. On the overall, market women in Nigeria have maintained their position as a formidable group, in spite of the fact that they used to be tagged "illiterate". This profile however is changing as many of them are embracing literacy programs to meet up with the demands of the moment. With the emergence of educated market women, it is expected that this group of women would continue to be a vital force in the economic, social, cultural and political contest in Nigeria, and Africa as a whole.

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